

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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Lucy W. Hayes

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

ART. I.—WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

CRUCIAL PERIOD.

THE relation between the present and the future is intimate and effective. This thought sheds light upon the best method of controlling the future by the selection of appropriate agencies in the present. The future is wrapped up in the present as the oak in the acorn, and it is scarcely less truthful than prophetic to say, that the closing years of the nineteenth century will give tone and character to all succeeding ones.

Our best thinkers and most careful observers declare with singular unanimity that this is the potential and crucial period of Republican institutions and of American Christianity, and that the work of the Christian Church for the next twenty years will decide the question whether the form of government of the United States will be republican or monarchical, whether the pure principles of Christianity or the wild theories of anarchists and infidels shall prevail. The solution of this problem here will aid in its permanent settlement everywhere.

We are living in the most wonderful age of the world's history. No Christian nation has shared so largely as we in the bounty of God. All providences tell us plainly that we are called to lead on in the work of the eventide of the world. The perils which beset us, the mad cry of men who clamor for a brotherhood without Christ, and the boast of infidels who would dethrone our God, warn, as in thunder, of the battle. No nation has survived the loss of its religion.*

* Bishop Whipple.

If the hosts of light and darkness are to be marshaled for conflict in this country, and the great battle for the triumph of the Church is to be fought here within the next quarter of a century, every possible effort should now be put forth to reach the multitudes that flock to our shores, and the neglected native populations of our own country, to teach them the value of Christian civilization, and to prepare them to become its earnest participants and zealous supporters.

The importance of a wide-spread movement to meet this crisis is indicated by the ominously rapid increase of our country's citizenship, and the fearful illiteracy and degradation in which so many are involved. The population of many foreign nations is comparatively stationary while ours is rapidly increasing—doubling every twenty-five years; so that, at this rate, in less than a hundred years hence we may number eight hundred millions, more than one hundred millions of whom will be colored.

Whether this nation, richly freighted with the hopes of countless millions, shall be preserved, and shall continue to be a beacon-light to other lands, is a question that lies near the heart of intelligent Christian women, not only because their own elevation and happiness are closely connected with every movement for the evangelization of the world, but also and especially because every impulse of their nature is in the fullest sympathy with such a result.

CHANGED CONDITIONS.

The obligation of the Church in any period is determined by the conditions of the country and its inhabitants. A few years ago the South, with its peculiar institution, was closed against us. There was no welcome for free thought, free schools, a free press, nor a free Gospel. West of the Mississippi was an almost unexplored region. Immigration had not become so important a factor in our civilization. We had few great cities, and the prosperous states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River did not present a mission field of so much promise, nor of so great exigency, as it has since become.

Within a brief period the circumstances of the country have undergone marvelous changes, vitally affecting the obligations

of the Church. The South has been unsealed, the West has become more accessible to settlers, and a mingled current of humanity is pouring into these vast territories from all the nations of the earth. Within a half century less than one twelfth of our population was in cities; now, more than one fourth of it jostles and surges within city limits, and the upheavals of the volcano shake the foundations of the empire. Such a population presents a mission field of vast importance, demanding careful and early culture.

Formerly, communism, socialism, and nihilism were unheard of in our country. Now, hundreds of thousands of laborers, from the skilled artisan to the humble delver in the mines, are held in the sway of powerful organizations, ready to be hurled at any moment upon the community with most terrific results. Now, anarchists armed with dynamite prosecute their bloody work in our cities under the shadow of the courts of justice. Then, the thought and culture of the East and the principles of Puritan teaching were dominant in literature and in the prevalent theories of government, social and political. Now, in many parts of New England the population has already commenced a retrograde movement. The influx of foreigners, and the emigration of native-born citizens westward, make it difficult to maintain the Church in places long favored with religious privileges, while her cities are rapidly coming under the sway of infidel thought and Romish domination. In several of our territories the population more than doubles in a decade, while in them the principles of free institutions and of our holy religion are scarcely recognized by the multitudes there struggling to obtain a livelihood and amass wealth. The scepter of power is passing into the hands of sections where illiteracy and vice prevail. In many places Mormonism, Socialism, or Romanism dictates the schemes of government.

Hence it will be seen that the missionary work of our Church has heretofore been maintained under circumstances widely different from the present. Our Home Missionary field, from social and political changes, has become greatly enlarged, and has developed increased proportions of ignorance and danger not hitherto fully realized by the Church or the nation.

AN ELEMENT OF STRENGTH.

If the Church in America is to be a power for the evangelization of the world, its latent energies must be developed, and its forces properly conserved. It is an encouraging fact that the value of organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work is becoming more fully appreciated. Women constitute two thirds of the Church membership, and are, therefore, numerically, an element of strength; yet the additional number of workers that they furnish for the field is not the most important advantage. The great advantage is, that they bring an entirely new influence into the world of effort; a quiet, unseen, and pervading influence, the result of combined patience and strength, more potent even than what is gained by mere numbers and display.

Emerson says: "Civilization is simply the influence of good women." Righteous principles and pure motives of action planted in human hearts grow in power and give rise to moral reforms. The homes of the people are the real centers of the influences determinative of the character of the people. Woman's appropriate sphere of action is the home. As the spirit of practical philanthropy and religion thoroughly imbues the currents of her thought, she will be able more effectually to purify the sources of power, and to send forth vitalizing influences that will reach, with elevating effect, all classes and conditions of society.

To meet successfully the momentous moral questions involving the destiny of the nation, philanthropic measures should be so planned as to utilize this hitherto latent force of Christian women. The value of woman's influence is in proportion as she labors in harmony with the laws of her being. Hence, to secure the best results of her labor, the plans of organization must be such as will enable her to enter the fields of effort in ways consistent with, and congenial to, her womanly nature and endowments.

The employment of women in mission work is one of the most hopeful indications of the speedy triumph of the Church of Christ. Since there is nothing in her recognized sphere of action nor in the delicacy of her nature to prevent, she may be welcomed to association in thought and effort with the other

sex in the removal of human suffering, and in the introduction of a higher civilization. In the countries where the aid of women in benevolent work is rejected progress is well-nigh paralyzed; but in those where her intelligent co-operation furnishes the incentive to noble achievement, wonderful advancement has been made in every department of Christian effort.

ORGANIZATION DEMANDED.

When it became apparent to those laboring to establish Christian institutions in heathen lands that their work could not be fully successful without the aid of women, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was called into existence, and this action has secured the happiest results. When the call for aid was made, consecrated women promptly responded. They organized societies, disseminated missionary information, raised funds, and sent forth their best workers into distant lands to rescue their sisters from the evils of heathenism. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has become one of our most successful organizations. It has aided in awakening new interest in the world's conversion, and in bringing about a great missionary quickening; also in kindling and diffusing a new and thrilling sympathy in Christian missions throughout our denomination.

When attention was called to the neglected condition of the population of our own country—when it was seen how great a work each of our Church societies had in hand, and how difficult it would be for any one of them to assume additional labors and responsibilities—when it was remembered how important a work had been accomplished by the women of our Church in the foreign field, and when it was seen how much had been accomplished by the women of other denominations in the home field—it was felt to be a duty, from which it was not possible to escape, to organize a society of ladies connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in behalf of the needy population of our own country. The Woman's Home Missionary Society represents mission work by women in behalf of our own land, similar to that undertaken by our sisters in foreign lands; and there surely is not the slightest ground nor warrant for anything but the kindest emulation between them.

This society, in its organization and history, and in the efforts of its friends to secure recognition and awaken increased interest in its special field, has called the attention of our Church to the neglected portions of our country; to the dangers which threaten it; to its great responsibilities, and to its controlling influence upon other lands. These efforts have deepened the sense of responsibility and obligation of our people on the subject of missions, and have contributed to increase the tide of religious effort in behalf of home mission work, which gives fresh heart and hope to every lover of his country.

Both societies, organized and conducted by women, one for the foreign and the other for the home field, were intended to co-operate with and supplement the work of the General Missionary Society, managed by men. Women could enter fields of usefulness, both in this and other lands, which were closed to the other sex, and this fact was influential in securing the organization of societies among the women.

If the responsibility of sustaining any missionary field should be intrusted to the women—if they should be allowed to select the field, plan the work, and commission the missionaries—there need be no solicitude felt for the result; for they would most certainly raise the funds and sustain the mission.

The ladies of the Foreign Missionary Society chose to aid the General Society in its work abroad. The ladies of the Home Missionary Society took that part of the territory omitted by the ladies of the Foreign, and to the extent of their ability are endeavoring to cultivate it for the Lord.

There is a clearly defined field of labor for these organizations, and each may move in its own sphere without collision, each shedding light and love upon the other.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society aids the Parent Society in distant lands. The Woman's Home Missionary Society aids the Parent Society at home. The General Missionary Society, like a wise and loving parent, cherishes and encourages both organizations. All are animated by the same spirit, guided by the same wisdom, and upheld by the same almighty Power.

Bishop Wiley early recognized the importance of providing for the organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work. He said:

We have entered upon a day when it seems as though a new revelation has dawned upon the women of Christendom, in opening to them the great domain of making the world better and happier.

Of the earlier movement he said :

I felt that the time had fully come, in the existence of our missions in foreign countries, when the women of the Church might take an efficient personal part in the great missionary work, by directing their efforts to the needs of women in the fields where the Church was working.

After the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, in a letter to the writer he said :

Women must work for women in the mission fields of our country as well as for the women of foreign lands. God's providence brought into life the former organization in due time; in the same timely way, God is bringing your organization into the great field. To my mind, the work of Christian women for their needy sisters in their own country is now as indispensable as for the foreign.

The author of these cheering sentences has finished his work on earth and has gone home to his reward in heaven. To him more than to any other should be attributed the honor of originating, and, in its early history guiding, the Society. He was its true friend and wise counselor. He advocated its claims with great ability and eloquence. Having been a missionary in foreign lands, and understanding the need and urgency of mission work there, he became an earnest advocate of the movement in its behalf. Episcopal supervision brought him into close relation with our Western mission. As President of the Freedmen's Aid Society, he had a clear understanding of the Southern field, which personal supervision of the work only could secure. He became so thoroughly aroused to the dangers that threatened our own country, and the necessity of securing the co-operation of women in order to avert them, that several years before the society was inaugurated he urged an organization of women for home work.

CO-OPERATION WITH EXISTING SOCIETIES.

A separate organization was not at first contemplated. Various attempts were made to enlist the women of Methodism in behalf of the home field through organizations already in existence.

During the meeting of the Executive Committee of the

Woman's Foreign Missionary Society at Chicago, in 1872, some of its members called attention to the importance of work among the freedwomen. At the meeting in Cincinnati, in 1873, Rev. R. S. Rust was introduced, and he urged the propriety of dropping the word "foreign" from the name of the Society, and making it the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; its field to be the same for women as that of the Parent Missionary Society, including work in our own and foreign lands. A similar appeal was made in New England by Bishop Wiley; and in 1875, at Baltimore, at an Executive Committee meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, the subject of the Southern work was discussed with much interest, and the notice of a constitutional amendment was given which would leave the society free to take up the home work. The following year, however, the plan of amendment of the constitution was laid aside as unadvisable. One reason, among others given for this action, was the important obligations already assumed by the society in behalf of foreign work.

Action was taken at a meeting called by the members of that Board, which we find recorded in the minutes of the Freedmen's Aid Society, as follows:

July 18, 1876, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. William B. Davis, and Mrs. R. S. Rust met the Committee, and presented the following communication from a meeting of ladies in behalf of freedwomen:

"Baltimore, Md., May 12, 1875, upon invitation of Mrs. Bishop Clark, the ladies in attendance upon the General Executive Committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society met to consider the claims of the freedwomen of our country. Mrs. Bishop Clark was called to the chair, Mrs. J. F. Willing was elected Secretary. Mrs. W. A. Ingham presented the matter of memorializing the Freedmen's Aid Society, asking that its influence be used at the next General Conference to secure the election of ladies as members of its Board of Managers, and the employment of ladies in collecting its funds. After earnest and enthusiastic discussion, Mrs. Ingham, Mrs. Lathrop and Mrs. Willing were appointed a Committee to present the matter in due form."

May 13, 1875, this Committee reports as follows:

Whereas: Our Bishops and the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society have pressed upon our attention the

necessity of prompt and efficient effort to advance the intellectual, and especially the spiritual, culture of the freedwomen, and we recognize the fact that a solemn duty rests upon us to help those who, though neglected and degraded, are the mothers and teachers of millions who will become citizens of the Republic; and *whereas*, we are awake to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has laid her hand of power upon these freed people, giving them beautiful churches, directing their worship, and educating their children, thus taking them hopelessly away from the influence of Protestant and American thought, and adding their votes to her already formidable political machinery; and *whereas*, we believe that if women were more largely responsible for work among the freedmen they would not only specially interest in it the women of the Church, but they would help establish direct communication between teachers in the field and Churches supporting them, and so give permanency to this interest: therefore, *Resolved*, That we respectfully memorialize the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that they use their influence with the General Conference at its next session to secure the election to said Board of Managers of one woman from each mission district of the Church.

It was *resolved* by the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society to extend to the ladies a cordial welcome to participate with the society in its vigorous prosecution of the work. It was also *resolved*, that Bishop Wiley, R. S. Rust, D.D., M. B. Hagans, and J. M. Walden, D.D., be appointed to confer with the ladies on the subject, and devise some plan of action by which the women of our Church may participate more fully and take a more responsible part in elevating the emancipated and degraded people of the South.

Cincinnati, October 13, 1876, the above committee reported as follows:

Your Committee see no obstacle in the way of introducing women into the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society as advisers. By the act of incorporation, males only are eligible to the Board, and entitled to vote, and are made responsible for the management of the affairs of the Society; but it is very desirable that the women of the Church should participate in our councils, and we unanimously recommend that they be cordially admitted to participate in all our meetings as advisers and counselors, and that the petition of the women put on record July 18, 1876, be granted.

Acting under the direction of the above committee, a circular letter was sent by the author of this article to one hundred

and fifty ladies prominently connected with the work of the Church, urging the claims of the home field, asking suggestions, and, if organization was deemed advisable, the form that the movement should assume. Invitations were sent to these ladies and to others to meet in Cincinnati the first week in December, 1876, for consultation and action. Several responded, and a resolution was adopted recommending a Woman's Department auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, under the direction of a lady as assistant corresponding secretary.

This was discussed at a joint meeting of ladies and the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, called December 7, and was referred to a special committee, which reported January 20, 1877, as follows:

In view of the fact that the introduction of females into the Board of Managers, by the laws of the State of Ohio, under which the Society holds its charter, would endanger its title to property, it is not practicable to elect a lady as assistant corresponding secretary; and we tender the appointment of agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society to Mrs. Jennie F. Willing, to be employed by, and under the direction of, the corresponding secretary, in publicly presenting the cause, collecting funds, and organizing auxiliary societies.

Provision was made for the salary and traveling expenses of the agent, and a committee of twelve ladies was nominated to represent the claims of the cause through the Church papers.

As women could not be recognized in the Board of Managers of the Society, Mrs. Willing declined to accept the position, and the plan was not carried out.

PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.

Failing in the efforts to secure the needed work through already existing agencies, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society or an auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, those whose sympathies had been enlisted continued to urge the work through the press, and by private appeals. Three years in succession the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society called attention to the importance of an effort in behalf of freedwomen.

During the winter of 1877 Mrs. Ryder, in response to the solicitation of Dr. and Mrs. Godman, was sent to New Orleans to labor as a missionary in connection with our Churches and the University.

In the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of 1878 we find this paragraph :

To counteract the efforts of the Romanists, who are busily engaged in proselytizing the freedmen by the distribution of Romish pictures and images, we have been able through the influence of elect ladies to scatter through the South seventy-five thousand elevating and instructive pictures, to adorn their humble homes, educate the inmates in the truths of the Bible, and stimulate them to holy lives. Devoted Christian women have visited from house to house, tendering sympathy and advice to the families.

From the report of this Society for 1879 we take the following :

While slavery existed, and the communities were crowded together in the slave quarters, there could be no family order nor individual responsibility. Emancipation found them children in character. Ought we then to be surprised that the parents whose lives had vibrated between the field and the hut, who knew so little of the sacred bonds of marriage, should be unable to organize Christian homes, or train their children in the principles of morality of which they have no knowledge themselves? From these homes our schools are filled, and to them the pupils must return. In view of this fact it is evident that here in the South is opened to the women of America one of the greatest fields in the world for missionary work. To reach it seas need not be crossed nor languages learned, and the harvest can be reaped almost as soon as the seed is sown.

We quote also from the Society's report of 1880 :

Woman's work in this mission field cannot be dispensed with. She alone can reach the homes of degraded females, and give the instruction, the advice, and the counsel so much needed to enable them to lead holy and pure lives. It is the freedwoman on whom the burden and the misery of this degradation falls with crushing weight. Woman's opportunity is now to enter these neglected homes and establish in them the principles of virtue, truth, and right living. We believe that God in his providence has laid this duty upon the women of the Church, to engage most earnestly in the important work of educating the freedmen preparatory to the redemption of Africa. An inscrutable Providence brought the Negroes here, and emancipated them; and now they must be prepared to enter the opening door to Africa, and take an active part in its evangelization. What work can be grander or more far-reaching in its influence? Clothe the millions of freedmen with the panoply of Christian civilization and they will be ready for an exodus that will have for its object the redemption of the more than two hundred millions of Africa.

In the same year's report we find the following account of an important enterprise that was inaugurated in New Orleans, and conducted by Mrs. J. C. Hartzell. Of her impressions of duty in regard to this work she writes from the North :

In the fall of 1878, while the mantle of death enshrouded our State, letters came saying, "Our colored sisters are praying for you, Sister Hartzell, that you may be able to bring back with you missionaries who will take their daughters and save them." In the midst of death these mothers dreamed of a life of purity for their daughters such as they had not known themselves, and they lifted up their hearts and voices for their salvation. Everywhere the people were giving of their time and money to relieve the sufferers from the fearful yellow fever scourge, and when in the midst of it there came this appeal from mothers for help to save the souls of their daughters, there suddenly came to my heart the feeling : Dare not refuse to be used in answering those mothers' prayers. And I said, Lord, do with me what seemeth good in thy sight.

In the fall of 1878 Mrs. Hartzell secured the interest of friends in the North and collected seven hundred dollars, with which four missionaries were sustained several months during the years 1879 and 1880. The ladies visited the people in their homes, held meetings for mothers and young women, in which they gave religious and moral instruction, suggestions and advice on matters relating to home life and personal habits and taste, taught plain sewing and useful housework, and urged attendance upon the schools and churches. This was gratefully welcomed and its continuance solicited by resolutions of the Louisiana Conference. This work was under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

Mrs. Hartzell's report furnishes many touching incidents illustrative of this field. From this we take the following :

Mrs. Ryder found an old freedman in a cabin sitting in a corner, half asleep. She aroused him, and asked him if he had a Bible. He replied, "No, missus ; got no Bible, and don't want none. I'se nearly done gone from dis world ; got no money, and can't read none." Mrs. R. opened and read : "Let not your heart be troubled ; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions ; if it were not so I would have told you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." As she read he arose, and with trembling step walked to her side and, bowing his ear close to the book, said :

"What is dat you read?" She read it again. "Is dat in de Bible, honey?" "Yes," said the missionary, and then she explained the words to him. When she had finished he asked her to put his finger on the place and to mark it good, so he could find it again, and, with tearful eyes, he exclaimed, "O, honey, I must hab dat book."

When the trials of the hour compelled colored people by thousands to seek the shelter of Northern homes, the Lincoln Lyceum was organized in Cincinnati to aid and encourage those desiring to obtain an education and lead useful lives. The instruction was industrial and educational, and was continued through three years. Many distinguished names are among its lists of lecturers and teachers, and great good was accomplished by this effort. The report says:

It was aimed each evening to show how they could successfully pursue investigations in the various departments of science. They were encouraged to ask questions, advised what books to read, and lectures on familiar topics, illustrated with apparatus, were frequently delivered.

The absence of elevating influence among the colored people is one of the greatest difficulties that they have to overcome in their efforts to secure success in the new relations of life in which they are placed. They have been groping blindly in the dark in the pursuit of knowledge. They lack the experience, instruction, and example that will enable them to judge correctly at what to aim in education. The old habits of thought, and the embarrassments of previous conditions still operating in their homes, cannot easily be overcome. An incident from the report illustrates this:

An interesting youth about eighteen years of age came for advice. In common with so many of his race, he had the deepest reverence for books and learning. Toil had occupied his days. Scanty opportunity of night schools had enabled him to read. Said he: "I never lose a minute of evenings. I read all the time I can get in the library." What kind of books; what do you read about? Not comprehending the question, he answered, "O, books; I always read books; I read, and read, but I don't seem to get any learning; I don't get along." The discouraged look in the poor fellow's face touched us deeply. In his imagination, a book, any book, was the casket holding the coveted gem, and he wondered why, when he opened the treasure trove, the jewel did not shine upon his vision and illuminate his mind.

These appeals contributed to the formation of a wide-spread sentiment in the Church which led to the inauguration of our home mission work. The first contribution in this behalf was a five-dollar gold piece which Mrs. Haven, mother of Bishop Gilbert Haven, gave, saying, "It is for the work of freed-women." Making this gift the opportunity, an appeal was inserted in the Church papers for money to sustain a missionary at Atlanta. Favorable responses were received, and in three weeks Miss Abbott, of Maine, entered upon the work, in which she continued for two years, our faith pledging the Church for her support. About the same time another missionary was sent to New Orleans. Later, Bishop Warren secured the means to sustain a lady at Atlanta, who labored among the poor white people of that city. Also Mrs. L. M. Dunton, through his instrumentality, made several missionary tours among the people in South Carolina. Afterward she and the writer visited many Conferences in the North, and set forth the objects and claims of the society. Mrs. Dunton's pathetic and eloquent word-pictures, and her faithful delineation of life in the South, awakened a deep interest, produced a profound impression, and exerted a strong influence in behalf of home missions.

The approval of these enterprises by the General Conference of 1880 encouraged the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. In the General Conference report on this subject we find the following:

The work among the freedwomen of the South has already borne precious fruit, and gives promise of adding much to the usefulness of the Society. The work contemplated is to send Christian women to the homes of the people, and, by good counsel, aid in the work of establishing Christian homes among them. Schools are to be organized for the girls and women in connection with our Churches and the institutions of the Society for primary and industrial education.

Much interest having been aroused in various sections of the country by the efforts above described, contributions of money and clothing began to flow into the treasury. To provide for the judicious appropriation of these donations, organization was demanded, and a meeting of ladies of Cincinnati and vicinity was called in Trinity Church, June 8, 1880, to which this whole subject was submitted. Prayer was offered by Mrs. Bishop

Clark, the object of the meeting was explained by the writer, and facts in regard to the work inaugurated in New Orleans were presented by Mrs. Dr. Hartzell.

Three plans for organization were presented for discussion: Shall the movement be auxiliary to the Missionary Society, or to the Freedmen's Aid Society, or shall a new organization be formed? The latter plan was approved, with a recommendation for special attention to the Southern field, and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution. Its report was adopted. The constitution, substantially the same as was approved in 1880, in 1884 was adopted by the General Conference.

July 10, 1880, at an adjourned meeting, Mrs. Bishop Wiley in the chair, Mrs. Rust presented the report of the Committee on nominations as follows: President, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. A. Shinkle, Mrs. J. M. Walden; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. R. S. Rust; Recording Secretary, Mrs. James Dale; Treasurer, Mrs. A. R. Clark.

Twelve resident managers were elected, who, together with the general officers, constitute the executive board of the society, and Mrs. John Davis was chosen chairman, which office she has held to the present time, performing its delicate and arduous duties with fidelity and careful consideration.

Mrs. Hayes* has been the president of the society from its organization. At first she hesitated to accept the office, lest her duties at Washington should prevent active co-operation with the Society. After earnest solicitation, she accepted the position, and in her letter of acceptance said: "If the ladies of the Woman's Home Missionary Society believe that my name, and such service as I may be able to render, will aid so good a cause, I cannot decline." The event has proved the wisdom of this action; her influence as president has been of inestimable value to the Society. The honor and esteem with which she is regarded by the good people of this nation lead to a favorable consideration of the cause she has espoused, while her quick grasp of the principles involved, her clear understanding of the details of the work, and her wise judgment as to policy and methods, have been of great value in the

* The use of the accompanying portrait of Mrs. Hayes is kindly allowed by Mrs. Holloway, author of the volume entitled, *Ladies of the White House*.

administration of its affairs. She gives to the Society careful thought and effort, is frequently in counsel with its officers and executive board, and presides at its public meetings with grace and ability. Mrs. Hayes has always been actively engaged in Christian and philanthropic work. The key to her position on this question of home missions will be found in a few sentences of her address at the opening of one of our annual meetings: "We believe that the character of a people depends mainly on its homes. Our special aim, therefore, is to improve home environments, home education, and home influences."

The first public presentation of the claims of the society was made at a meeting held in connection with the Cincinnati Conference, September, 1880. During the fall of that year seven missionaries were employed—five in the South, and two in Utah. The salaries of these ladies were advanced by a friend of ours and of the cause, who believed that the surest way to secure funds to support the work was to enter the field with efficient laborers and demonstrate the practicability of reaching the needy people with helpful influences. Although at first the debt incurred in this work accumulated rapidly, and soon reached three thousand dollars, organizations were effected, interest was aroused, money commenced flowing into the treasury, and before the close of the third year the whole debt had been paid, while the work had been steadily extended, and the Society had raised and expended more than twenty-eight thousand dollars.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION.

In the fall of 1881 the movement had already assumed extended proportions. Its friends, feeling that its success depended upon its being brought into harmony with the other enterprises of the Church, prepared a statement of the work and plans of the Society, and addressed it to Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D., and the Rev. C. H. Fowler, D. D., Secretaries of the Missionary Society, asking advice as to the best plans for co-operation with the other branches of missionary work in the Church. The paper expressed the desire of the ladies to bring the new organization into appropriate relations with other missionary enterprises of the Church, in the belief that united Christian effort would be

mutually profitable, and requested suggestions for the approaching annual meeting. The paper was signed by Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, President; Mrs. R. S. Rust, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. W. G. Williams, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, and Mrs. G. S. Savage, Committee.

A cordial response was received, recognizing the fact that within the bounds of the United States there is great need of woman's work by woman to extend the usefulness of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and suggesting clauses supplemental to the Constitution.

The Woman's Home Missionary Society at its annual meeting, 1882, adopted amendments in harmony with the suggestions of the Missionary Society.

At the next meeting of the committee the society responded that, "while not unmindful of the vast and important field the Woman's Home Missionary Society has entered upon, and the value of the work undertaken, the society had not constitutional power to enter into any alliance with another society that would give it control of the fields or plans of missionary labor," and advised a reference of the whole question to the General Conference.

The society tendered its services to supplement the work of the other connectional Missionary Agencies of the Church. The enterprise was approved by the General Conference of 1884, and the same relation was given to the Woman's Home Missionary Society as to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. Previous to that time sixty Annual Conferences had approved the work, Conference societies had been formed in forty of them, over thirty-five thousand dollars in cash and supplies had been raised and disbursed, and promising missions established in the South and West.

HOME MISSION FIELD.

We can only briefly refer to the fields of want and wretchedness in our own country selected by the society for missionary effort. First: There are millions of freed people in the South, involved in the deepest ignorance and degradation, who can be reached only by women, and there are many unfortunate whites wronged and degraded by evils connected with slavery who can only be rescued by woman's sympathy and aid.

Second: The Spanish people of New Mexico are fearfully ignorant and degraded. They are nominally Roman Catholic, but really pagan. Their appeal for Christian aid is scarcely less pathetic than that of those embracing a similar faith and indulging in similar practices in foreign lands. Among the Mexican population no social odium attaches to those who are guilty of immorality and vice. Virtue is hardly known among them.

Scattered over this vast region, mostly in small towns, we find mining-camps and herders' ranches. Many thousand people live therein who know nothing of sacred things or of holy Sabbaths. There is probably less of the true religious element, in proportion to the population, than is to be found in any other settled portion of our country. Jesuit missionaries went into Mexico in the days of the Spanish conquest, with their missions and schools, ostensibly for the conversion of the Indians; but their efforts resulted in little less than the complete subjugation of these ignorant people to a thralldom of degrading rites and superstitions. The reports which come to us of the cruel superstitions connected with the worship of the martyrs, and the penances imposed upon Romanists in this free land, are appalling.*

Third: Indians in the territories, including Alaska, are the victims of the nation's cruelty and injustice. They have claims on us for kind treatment and for Christian civilization even more imperative than the heathen of foreign lands. Superstitious rites and ceremonies, the symbols of fetichism and fire worship, blight their hopes, while the service and sacraments of Christ are indiscriminately and profanely blended in the religious devotions of many tribes of these unfortunate people.

Fourth: More than two hundred thousand Mormons are establishing their abominable system of polygamy and government in the fairest and most promising portions of our country. While women suffer such fearful wrongs from this monstrous system of iniquity in this land, surely women should organize and do all in their power to relieve their sisters from such degradation and sorrow. Mormonism, with a scheme of government aggressive, audacious, defying the laws of our country and of God, is fastening itself with a demon's grasp upon our Western frontiers, where, in the near future, a dozen States may be organized. Already Utah, seeking statehood, has prepared a constitution which, while apparently condemning polygamy, is clearly a

* Fifth Annual Report, Woman's Home Missionary Society, p. 86.

pretense and a fraud by which that wretched system may be remedilessly fastened upon one of the States of this Republic.

Fifth: In our large towns and cities are congregated more than twenty-five per cent. of the population of the whole country, and this proportion is rapidly growing. In the ninety years preceding 1880 the population of the whole country increased twelve fold, while that of the cities increased eighty-six fold. In the leading cities, as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Boston, New York, and Chicago, from sixty-nine to ninety-one per cent. of the population are of foreign birth or parentage. In the larger cities it is well known that vice and socialism abound. In these the saloon rather than the Church holds sway. We are indebted to Dr. J. M. King, of New York, for the following significant facts of the cluster of cities circling around New York. Similar conditions prevail in other chief cities.

BROOKLYN.			
	Population.	Protestant Churches.	Roman Catholic Churches.
In 1840.....	36,233	23	2
In 1850.....	96,838	55	6
In 1870.....	396,099	189	26
In 1880.....	566,689	212	42
In 1887.....	650,000	242	53
NEWARK.			
In 1836.....	19,732	17	1
In 1850.....	38,894	32	3
In 1870.....	105,059	66	9
In 1880.....	136,400	81	11
In 1885.....	152,868	89	14
JERSEY CITY.			
In 1850.....	11,578	14	0
In 1870.....	82,546	28	4
In 1880.....	151,721	81	2
In 1887.....	90	16

It will be seen that the increase in Protestant Churches in these cities has not been in proportion to the growth of population, and that the Roman Catholic Church grows much more rapidly than the Protestant.

In Brooklyn, in 1840, there was one Protestant Church to 1,500, and one Catholic Church to 18,000 people. In 1887,

there was one Protestant Church to 2,686, and one Catholic Church to 12,266 persons.

In Newark, in 1835, there was one Protestant Church to 1,160 people, and one Catholic Church to 19,732. In 1885, there was one Protestant Church to 1,700 people, and one Catholic Church to 10,918.

In these three cities in 1840 there was about one Protestant Church to 1,250 persons; in 1887, one to about 3,000. In 1840 there was one Catholic Church to 22,500 persons; in 1887 there is one to about 12,000 population.

NEW YORK CITY.

	Population.	Protestant Churches.	
In 1830.....	202,000	99	— one church to 2,040 souls.
In 1850.....	515,000	211	" " 2,440 "
In 1870.....	942,000	380	" " 2,479 "
In 1880.....	1,206,000	396	" " 3,046 "
In 1887.....	1,500,000	400	" " 3,750 "

Since 1880, population has increased in New York 300,000. To preserve the proportion of Churches then existing, there should have been one hundred Protestant Churches added during these seven years. There are now only four more than there were in 1880. The following figures are even more significant :

	Population.	Saloons.	Protestant Churches.
In the First Assembly District.....	43,998	1,072	7
In the Eighth Assembly District.....	57,342	482	5
In the Twentieth Assembly District....	60,738	287	3

In the 1st, 2d, 3d, 8th, 20th, and 22d, Assembly Districts, there were in 1880, 360,240 people, 3,018 saloons, and 31 Protestant Churches. For this population of 360,000, in New York there are over one hundred times as many saloons as churches; a saloon to every 112 persons, and a Protestant Church to every 10,000 persons.

In the 1st Assembly District there is one saloon to every 47 persons, and one Protestant Church to 6,285 persons. In the 8th Assembly District, one saloon to every 119 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 11,466 persons. In the 20th Assembly District, one saloon to every 208 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 20,246 persons.

In our country the Roman Catholics claim seven millions of

Romanists. These exercise a controlling influence on the politics of several of our large cities, and also on the government, and on the civil and social institutions in a portion of our country equal in extent to half a dozen states. There are, say, nine millions of foreigners among us, while a vast tide of immigration pours into our country, bringing hundreds of thousands every year. Many of these become good citizens, and take high rank among us, while a large proportion of them are the dregs of the Old World. Many of these are contaminated with socialistic and communistic ideas, having but little knowledge of or interest in our government and institutions. There are in the South more than seven millions of colored people, who are still, more or less, suffering from the disabilities resulting from centuries of slavery. Hundreds of thousands of white people in this section are in conditions scarcely superior to that of their dusky neighbors. Add to these the Mormons, the Indians, the Chinese, and the multitudes of ignorant and degraded people crowding the garrets and cellars of our populous cities, and we have an aggregation of dangerous classes furnishing an appeal that cannot fail to arouse the friends of free institutions to make every possible effort to save our country from anarchy and ruin.

RESULTS.

It is too early in the history of this society to attempt to tabulate its results, and yet, for our encouragement, it may be proper to call attention to a few facts and statements illustrating its establishment, its work, and its success. Foundation work is slow. It escapes the notice of careless observers. It is not until the walls go up, and the noble superstructure rises, that merited attention to it is secured; that its beautiful proportions are recognized, and its advantages appreciated.

Thus far the work of the society has been largely foundational. It has been directed to the awakening of the missionary spirit in behalf of the destitute fields in our country, to the crystallization of this sentiment by permanent and efficient organizations, and, through these, to the earnest and successful prosecution of mission work, as the enlightened Christian benevolence of the women and the providence of God have directed and approved. More specifically:

1. The organization of this society has brought into the mission field an additional class of workers from the women. Only a small portion of the females of our Church are engaged in foreign missions; this society is designed to interest as many as possible of those that remain in the home field, which enterprise is no less deserving of aid, nor less promising in results. There are many women in our Church who are so deeply interested in Christian missions that they will cheerfully aid both societies, without any abatement of effort in behalf of the foreign work. They will do all they can to aid their sisters in the new effort for the evangelization of our own land. Service in the home field will quicken the zeal and strengthen the faith of its friends to such a degree that they will be satisfied with nothing less than united faith and effort in behalf of all the inhabitants of the earth.

2. It has been instrumental in awakening an interest in home mission work in persons indifferent and even hostile to foreign missions. Sacrifice for the salvation of the souls at home leads to similar effort for those abroad. Enthusiasm for the conversion of the whole world is sure to follow from a genuine interest in the salvation of any part in it, so that, following the Saviour's command, it is well to begin at home, and attempt to take the world for Christ. No intelligent Christian woman will be satisfied until this grand result is accomplished.

3. It has secured an interest among our people in lines of work hitherto overlooked by every other society of our Church, and of every other Church.

4. It has called the attention of our people to the perils of our own country, the opportunities furnished for usefulness and influence, and the obligations pressing upon us for its evangelization. The Church has been aroused. She is now, as never before, carefully investigating the condition of the needy populations of this country preparatory to a general and enthusiastic effort to capture it for Christ.

5. Organization has been commenced in Conferences, cities, and towns. It is intended to prosecute the work until there shall be an auxiliary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society in every charge of the Church. Fifty-nine Conference Societies have been formed. These include over twelve hundred

auxiliaries, more than thirty thousand annual members, and five hundred life members.

The Society celebrated its sixth anniversary at Detroit, Michigan, October 28, 1886, up to which time it had raised and expended for missionary work, cash, \$106,772 78. Clothing and household goods valued at \$57,709 23 had also been collected, and forwarded to needy ministers and Churches on the frontier, making in all \$164,482 01.

The first year seven missionary teachers were employed, the second eleven, the third seventeen, the fourth twenty-one, the fifth seventeen, and the sixth twenty-eight—this year, thirty; aggregating one hundred and thirty-one teachers. Beneficiary aid to the amount of \$6,110 56 has been expended to enable promising girls to profit by the advantages of the schools and model homes. The Society has vested, in property essential to the development of its work, \$30,442 74.

The monthly, called *Woman's Home Missions*, published in the interest of the Society by Mrs. S. W. Thomson, has been self-supporting from the beginning. It reached last year a circulation of nearly eleven thousand. It has been edited with taste and ability by Mrs. L. D. McCabe. It is recognized as a most valuable auxiliary among the missionary agencies of the Church. The Society has distributed five million pages of leaflets and addresses. Its plans have been arranged to co-operate with other societies and to meet the needs of the selected locality, whether in the frontiers of the West or of the South, or in our populous cities.

WESTERN FIELDS.

Dr. Strong stated that in nearly two thirds of all the territory of the United States between the Mississippi River and Alaska, 58.9 per cent. of the inhabitants are of foreign birth or extraction. He also says,

that in Oregon, only one in eleven of the population in 1880 was in any evangelical Church; Dakota, one in twelve; in Washington, one in sixteen; in California and Colorado, one in twenty; in Idaho, one in thirty-three; in Montana, one in thirty-six; in Nevada one in forty-six; in Wyoming, one in eighty-one; in Utah, one in two hundred and twenty-four; in New Mexico, one in six hundred and fifty-seven; in Arizona, one in six hundred and eighty-five.

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That the Church may be established in this section, the people must be reached by a power that will bring them into intelligent sympathy with our Christian institutions. The Church has no connectional educational association operating west of the Mississippi. The Woman's Home Missionary Society can most successfully aid the people through the schools. Women as teachers, through their influence with the children, can gain access to the homes and hearts of the parents. In many cases women alone can give the instruction that is needed to alleviate the prevalent wretchedness. This is true of a large proportion of the native women of New Mexico, of Indian women, and of those in the thralldom of Mormon faith and institutions.

The erection of the Home and Boarding Department of the Salt Lake Seminary was commenced in 1880. Teachers were sent that year to Utah. Each year the work has been enlarged. The Society has now twelve teachers in this field. It has schools or missionary teachers in the San Pete valley, at Ogden, Maroni, Mount Pleasant, Ritchfield, Ephraim, Elsinore, and at Salt Lake City. The difficulty of securing proper accommodations for them has made it necessary to aid in the erection of buildings to the amount of \$10,863 45.

Advocating this line of work, the Secretary of the Bureau quotes from Rev. T. C. Iliff, Superintendent of Missions in Utah :

Please urge upon your Society the need of doubling the number of missionary teachers and building as many of your little mission school-houses as possible. This work of teaching, while of the greatest importance now, will only be for a few years. Just as soon as public schools come into the hands of proper persons, this line of work will cease to be needed. But these little homes you are building are not only an equal necessity now, but will be needed in all the future in the direct carrying on of mission work in this territory.

Two years ago the first mission of the society among the Indians was opened at Pawnee, in the Indian Territory. In its influence for good upon the Pawnees it has been a marked success. Encouraged by the good results secured, steps have been taken to establish missions among tribes of Indians in adjoining Territories, and also in Alaska.

We quote from the report of the secretary :

There was no observance of the Sabbath by whites or Indians within a radius of forty miles. Our missionary addressed herself to establish the Christian Sabbath. In this she succeeded. The Indians, who entertained the whites on the Sabbath with bear-dances, now not only attend the services held by our missionary on that day but have given up their heathen dances. The mission has greatly benefited both whites and Indians, and introduced among them Christian civilization. One chief has died a beautiful death, addressing God as Father. Seven other Indians have recently professed conversion.

Earnest appeals for help come from the Klamaths, the Silets, the Yakimas, and the large tribes of Arizona. A promising field is opening on the Navajos Reservation, an area of the size of Ohio, in north-west New Mexico and north-east Arizona. The Navajos number 22,000. They have increased 12,000 within twelve years. They are rich in sheep, cattle, and horses. They are nomadic. It is proposed to establish a mission at Chenali, a trading post near the beautiful cañon of de Chelly. The manufactures of these remarkable Indians in silver, pottery, and especially in blankets, are very valuable. They are heathen, and destitute of schools. They despise our border civilization, and efficient, faithful missionaries can win them for Christ. Unless this is done quickly the encroachments of the approaching whites will bring upon us the horrors of an Indian war. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has granted the Society eighty-acres of land. Military protection is also promised, if needed. The Indians are ready for the Gospel, and often ask with grief, "Why, then, did you not tell us these things before?"

Of the claims of Alaska the report says:

While Christians made no effort to tell these heathen of Jesus, the whisky-demon began his work. In less than a week after the United States flag was raised at Sitka, among other vices that claimed its protection were "two saloons and two ten-pin alleys." The first gift to native chiefs by the commander of the new department was a few bottles of whisky!

Polygamy in its most hideous forms is practiced, fathers taking their own daughters as wives in the same hovel with their mother. The exchange of wives, as inclination or convenience dictates, is not uncommon. Human sacrifices, infanticide, and other kindred crimes, may be found among the mountains and ravines of Alaska.

SOUTHERN FIELDS.

The several denominations operating in the South have largely devoted their energies to the preparation of teachers and preachers. This has proved a most successful method of elevating the people. The wisdom of this policy is unquestionable.

Wise educators in all parts of the country are making provision for industrial training. Slavery put upon labor the badge of degradation. Our schools, by placing industries in the course of study, and by recognizing their importance, contribute valuable assistance for the removal of this odium.

The department for girls aims to impart practical elementary instruction in the lines of study included in good housekeeping. This requires a knowledge of chemistry, of the science of cooking, the purchase and care of family supplies, household accounts, vegetable, landscape, and floral gardening, home architecture, esthetic and decorative art. It also includes dressmaking, millinery, etc., and practical instruction in home sanitation, physiology, hygiene, physical training, and the duties of a nurse.

Industrial education in connection with the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society furnishes the Woman's Home Missionary Society a definite field of labor, distinct from any other form of Church benevolence. The Church has thirty schools for advanced instruction in this section, in which are more than six thousand students. The fact that the fields of skilled labor are closed to a large proportion of the youth of both races, except through the instrumentality of the denominational schools, gives especial importance to this line of instruction.

The Society entered the South with its workers, who engaged in general city mission work and in visiting from house to house, but it was soon discovered that much valuable effort was lost for the want of continuous care and personal attention to mature into permanent form the results reached.

It has since developed two lines of work: one in co-operation with our schools of higher grade, furnishing educational and industrial training, which is illustrated by the work of the "Model Home." The other is carried on by itself, apart from school connections. It provides a home for girls, kindergarten, kitchengarten, industrial and school training, assuming their care and in part their support.

First. The "MODEL HOME," connected with the school, furnishes for the imitation of pupils a beautiful home life. These homes are designed to accommodate a family of from twelve to sixteen girls. The few already in operation have demonstrated

their great value. The Church has for years, at great expense, by educating the freedmen, been laying the foundation on which the Woman's Home Missionary Society may build. A large proportion of the pupils now in the schools have always lived in cabins, destitute of conveniences and comforts. They have little idea of social life and order, or of the sacredness of the family relations. They are drawn together from a widely extended territory. They represent the most enterprising elements of the population. From these are selected girls of considerable attainment, of good moral character, cherishing high aims in life. These, at moderate expense and in a short time, are prepared for missionary service. They become more successful teachers of their people than strangers, since they understand them better and can sympathize more intelligently with their needs.

In connection with each educational institution there is a demand for a Model Home. Young men attending the college, becoming acquainted with these excellent homes, are encouraged to cultivate the economical habits and the moralities necessary to secure one. They learn to respect woman in her proper sphere, as the conservator of home rather than as a laborer in the field, and the influence of these as ministers and teachers will carry the inspiration of better living all over the South.

The Society has five of these Homes; one at Atlanta, Ga., another at Orangeburg, S. C., the third at Greensboro, N. C., the fourth at Holly Springs, Miss., and the fifth at Little Rock, Ark. The aggregate cost of this property is \$16,530. Since they were established one hundred and fifty girls have, in them, been provided with a year's instruction in housekeeping, six hundred have had special training in the industrial classes, while thousands of young men and women, instructed by the example of the Model Home, have received higher ideals of life, and gained much practical knowledge of its duties. A large proportion of these have taught a part of each year. The students that have gone out from the Home have given one or more years of valuable labor as missionary teachers.

Second. The INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS. The Society has two of these—one at Savannah, Ga., the other at Jacksonville, Fla.—in which girls receive industrial education and moral training.

The expenses of the pupils are largely met by the Society, although quite a number are supported by parents or friends. It is hoped that by retaining these young persons for a succession of years in the Home, they will acquire valuable information in the practical duties of life, develop symmetrical Christian character, and become useful members of society. The mission at Savannah has been in operation three years with gratifying results. Thirty-six are accommodated in the family, and one hundred in the day-school. Three missionary teachers are employed, and through their instrumentality a second mission, with Day and Sunday School, has been successfully inaugurated at Speedwell, a suburb of the city. The Sunday school at the Methodist Church is conducted by these missionaries, aided by their most advanced pupils. Mrs. J. L. Whetstone has taken a deep interest in this mission, and contributed liberally to the purchase of the property.

The enterprise at Jacksonville was opened last year, and is under the care of a missionary and an assistant. There have been ten girls in the family, and seventy-five in the industrial day classes. These missionaries teach sewing, and hold temperance meetings in three neighboring places. The building and grounds for these two industrial schools have been provided at an expense of \$14,168 89.

OUR CITIES.

It is patent that the masses in our cities who most need the elevating influence of the Gospel are not attracted to the church by its accustomed services. The beautiful music, fervent prayers and eloquent sermons do not reach these wanderers from the house of God, with their burdened hearts. They need light in their darkness, sympathy in their sorrow, help in their poverty, and encouragement in their despondency.

Why not make mission churches centers for all saving influences, where may be found schools in which children may be trained in morals and in useful occupations, young women taught remunerative industries, agencies where employment may be secured, and, above all, places where any who come would be met with loving sympathy?

Through its Bureau of Local or City Work, the Woman's

Home Missionary Society might prosecute such a work as this. The strength of several Conference Societies might be concentrated in a large city for mission work, and prosperous churches so engaged would not languish and die. In this line of its activity the great possibilities of usefulness of the Woman's Home Missionary Society might be illustrated.

The necessity of self-sacrificing effort in behalf of the masses is most impressively enforced in the following quotation :

The Church must show to the world a society in which the strong really, actually, bear the burdens and infirmities of the weak, and seek not to please themselves. The masses will never be won until the Church is such a society. If the masses will not come to the Church, then the Church must go to the masses. If men are to be saved, other men must sacrifice themselves to reach them. I can see no solution for our problem except this; we must compel men to come in by the power of love; we must go to them in the spirit that brought Jesus to the earth. The Church must go to those who will not come to it; go with its loving invitations, and patient instructions, and persuasive entreaties, and ceaseless ministries; and when it is willing to do that, it will find that most of its work for years to come will be taking Jesus Christ to those who will not come to him.

The report of the secretary of this department furnishes the following :

The importance of the work committed to this bureau, namely, the supervision of the mission work, the support of industrial schools, temperance organizations, and the employment of Bible readers for general missionary work among women and children in our large cities and towns, a work supplementary to the Christian Church and leading into it, can scarcely be over-estimated. There are localities and wards in every large city needing missionary labor as much as it is needed South or West; even more, if possible, for in the cities the disease is acute, and it is a question of saving a limb or losing the whole body. So felt is the need of purification in the great cities that we have no fear that, when our plan of work shapes itself in our minds, and our desire to meet the demand becomes known, workers and means will come to us as we need them. The Woman's Home Missionary Society wishes to put itself in its own special field—namely, woman's work for woman—into vital practical relations with all our Church missionary movements in the great cities, as rapidly as the way opens to us and means flow into our treasury.

From the commencement of this movement the Society has responded, to the extent of its ability, to urgent calls of the

most needy people of our country. Careful attention has been given to efforts in behalf of the Freedmen, of the Mormons, and of the Indians. But the society has constantly felt a strong drawing toward the needy population of our cities. Evidently God, in his providence, is molding and preparing it to engage in this important work. It has not yet been able to satisfactorily formulate plans and thoroughly systematize this work. While it studies the question, and listens attentively to the suggestions of wisdom and experience, we believe at no distant day, under Divine guidance, it will enter upon the work of saving the masses in cities with an enthusiasm and an efficiency that will secure the most hopeful results. We feel assured that a mission of so great importance is worthy the providential origin and earnest endeavor of this organization of the Church.

The Training School for Missionaries, at Chicago, by its remarkable success, suggests a new and efficient agency for city evangelization. Schools similar to this may be established anywhere, and become great centers of missionary influence. The enterprise was started under the auspices of this society, and has become an instrumentality of blessing not only for Chicago and this country, but for foreign lands. Already in it are consecrated women preparing themselves for mission work at home and abroad. A beautiful building for the school has been erected at a cost of \$26,000. Forty-three students are in attendance, all of whom are engaged in active mission work. These have made this year 2,795 religious visits and have taught 5,432 pupils. Nine young ladies have enlisted in the order of Deaconess, and give their whole time and strength, without compensation, to city mission work in Chicago.

The report of the work says:

Every pupil, whatever her purpose for the future, during her course of instruction is employed as a city missionary. This school has its workers in seventeen churches and missions in Chicago. The plan is to put ladies under the various pastors, making them responsible to the pastor for results and to the school for methods. The time seems near when every church and mission in the city that needs help from us may have, without expense, two or more missionaries under the direction of the pastor. Bishop Foster said of the enterprise. "This school is a growth. It has arisen to meet an absolute necessity. It is a

great thing that these students can have this training, and the best part of it is that they are introduced to the hardest mission work in the hardest part of Chicago. It will develop courage, skill, invention, and devotion."

The Society has a mission at Castle Garden, New York. Until a year ago there was no Protestant missionary at this place to attend to the spiritual wants of the English-speaking immigrants. The Hebrews were provided for, the German, Scandinavian, and Roman Catholic Churches had also their Homes, but the Protestant English-speaking immigrants were neglected. From the report of Mrs. Mathews, our missionary, we take the following:

The number of immigrants landed every year is very great. Eighty-four large steamships arrive from Europe every month, bringing passengers to this port. Of these, twelve come from the Mediterranean, laden with Italians chiefly; fourteen from the Baltic and Zuyder Zee, bearing Russians and Scandinavians; twenty from the German Ocean, freighted with Danes, Dutch, and Teutons; six from France; and last, but largest in number as well as interest, thirty-two from Great Britain and Ireland, loaded with English-speaking people.

When from 6,000 to 9,000 are congregated in the rotunda at one time the sounds are more suggestive of Babel than Pentecost, and the perfume is not such as arises from the gardens of spices. We have pathetic scenes. Women have come expecting a husband to meet them: he does not come, and no word comes. These need comforting. Poor people who have sold their little all for just enough money to get here, hoping to get work at once, are disappointed, heart-sick, home-sick, and hungry. These call for aid. Men who have left their country for their country's good—these need advice. Plenty to do among every ship load.

We are already seeing fruit from our seed-sowing. Many letters reach us from families for whom we have obtained situations, thanking us for the interest taken in them. Some of the immigrants have written home to their friends, telling them of the missionary at Castle Garden who will give them books and good advice, and it is quite common now to have parties inquire on hand for the Methodist missionary.

If we had a Home we could bring women and children there who are waiting to be met. We could have persons seeking employment, especially domestic servants, sent to us from the churches where they belong. The need of a Mission House and Immigrant Home becomes more and more apparent. Protestant people object to the priest's house, as they do not want to attend mass. Then the boarding-houses represented at Castle Garden are connected with the liquor traffic, but there is no cheap boarding house, conducted on temperance principles, near the Garden.

ART. II.—PROFESSOR BOWNE'S PSYCHOLOGY.*

PROFESSOR BOWNE is no stranger to students of metaphysics. His trenchant and brilliant criticism of Herbert Spencer gained their attention, while his *Theism* and *Metaphysics* gave him an assured place among the first metaphysicians of America. All worshipers, therefore, at the shrine of philosophy—and there are still a few such—will be glad to hear of this new offering. Nor will their hopes be disappointed. They will find the same lucidity of exposition, the same power of illustration, the same merciless scorn of opponents, and the same acuteness of thought that characterized his earlier works.

In the book before us Professor Bowne attempts to answer two questions: 1) What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? 2) What is our actual mental life as a combination of these elements? In opposition to Comte and his school, his method is mainly introspective, though he admits that we cannot gain a complete knowledge of the human mind by the study of the individual consciousness alone, and that the narrow and one-sided results of such a study need to be corrected and supplemented by a study of life and history and literature.

The author begins his answer to his first question by maintaining the existence of the self as the subject of our mental states. The followers of Hume assure us that the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which we experience constitute the entire content of our being. It is not true, they say, as common sense imagines, that *I* am something different from these experiences, something which *has* them; on the contrary, *I am* the experiences which reveal themselves to my consciousness from moment to moment and nothing more; my entire being is poured out into them without remainder.

The attentive reader will observe that this view is not only inconceivable—it cannot even be stated except in terms that imply its opposite. “I am the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which reveal themselves to my consciousness,” etc. What does “my” mean? If there is no subject, if these vanishing experiences are all there is of me, is not the “my”

* *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, by Borden P. Bowne.

altogether meaningless? But if we not only omit it from the sentence, but seek to banish the fact implied by it from the thought of which the sentence professes to be the expression, we shall realize that we are in a new difficulty. For what is meant by "consciousness?" Is it something in addition to the experiences which, in order to be intelligible, I have been in the habit of calling mine? Evidently not, for according to the hypothesis they constitute my entire being. The term consciousness, then, either means nothing at all or is merely a collective term to denote the facts that are said to reveal themselves to it, and we are left with the statement, "I am sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions." But which group am I? To use the language of the ordinary creed—and no other is intelligible—there are many persons in the world. What characteristic or quality or attribute attaches to the group of experiences which constitute *me*, and differentiates it from those that constitute all other persons?

But, granting the possibility of mental states apart from a subject, such mental states could not account for the unity of our mental life. The co-existence and succession of mental states is one thing, a knowledge of such co-existence and succession quite another. Now if what we call a mind consists of particular experiences, though co-existent they cannot be known as such, since each, being particular, cannot know any thing of the others; for in knowing any thing of the others it would assume the character of universality—cease to be what the theory requires it to be.

Professor Bowne's illustration will make this clearer:

Let *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* be respectively a sensation of color, of odor, of taste, and of sound. Plainly no consciousness can be built out of these elements. The color knows nothing of the odor, the taste knows nothing of the sound. Each is a particular and isolated unit, and must remain so until some common subject, *m*, is given, in the unity of whose consciousness these elements may be united. For as long *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., are all, there is no common consciousness, and hence no rational consciousness at all. We conclude, then, that the mental life, both in its elements and in its combinations, must have a subject. It is not only unintelligible, it is impossible, without it.—Page 13.

It should be carefully noted, that if this reasoning is just, we reach a subject of our mental states not by an inference

from the facts of consciousness, but by an actual analysis of them. The co-existence of mental states is an absolute certainty. That is universally conceded to be a fact of consciousness. What is involved in it? There is involved in it an element in our conscious lives *over and above* the co-existent states; a universal element present to each of these particular and co-existing states, and making possible the knowledge of their co-existence. Precisely as an analysis of water shows that it is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, so an analysis of the fact that states of consciousness are known to be co-existent, shows the presence of something besides the co-existent facts: a subject to which these co-existing facts appear, and which knows them as co-existent.

It is hardly necessary to say that an analysis of the knowledge of likeness and unlikeness, of cause and effect, of here and there, of motion, of any relation, in short, will reveal the same fact. Two things may be like or unlike; they may be, in a word, relative to each other, one may be here and the other there, they may change their places, but the knowledge of these things is impossible if mental life consists of particular experiences not brought into unity by their relation to a common subject. If one man sees a moving ball for an indivisible point of time and no longer, and another for another, there can be no perception of motion, because there can be no comparison of successive positions. There *are* successive positions, but they are not known as such; A saw the ball at *a*, and B at *b*, but A's perception *a* and B's perception *b* are not sufficient to constitute a perception of motion—though they are a perception of successive positions—because they are not *known* as successive positions since they are not the experiences of one and the same person.

These considerations appear to me a demonstration of the reality of the mental subject. But this is so emphatically denied by materialism that it may be well to examine its grounds before proceeding.

No one denies that the mental life is in some way dependent upon the organism, especially upon the brain and nervous system. But materialism is not the necessary inference from such dependence. For though the explanation of it may be that the organism *produces* the facts of consciousness, it may

be, also, that the relation between those facts and the organism is not that of cause and effect, but of *condition* and *conditioned*, and that though the mind is conditioned in its activities by the organism, it is nevertheless distinct from it. Which of these is the true explanation?

We note in the first place the utter unlikeness of physical and mental facts. Matter has form and position; its forces are moving forces. How can they produce thought? The most plausible answer which materialism makes to this question is based on the doctrine of the transformation of energy. As in certain relations matter manifests gravity, in certain others affinity, in still others magnetism, so in others, it is claimed, it manifests vital and mental properties. Now, granting the utmost that this theory contends for, all it can do is to account for states of consciousness. But we have seen that though we cannot deny the possibility of a sentient life consisting simply of states of consciousness, the mental life of man consists in something entirely different—a consciousness of states. Thoughts and feelings, as we have seen, demand a subject, and are meaningless and impossible apart from it. In order to make out its case, materialism must not only account for thoughts and feelings, but also for the subject of them. Until it has solved this problem—until it has shown that co-existing facts are the same thing as the knowledge of co-existence—it has no claim upon our attention.

In the second place, materialism is not a workable theory. We are not merely or chiefly intellectual beings; we have a practical nature, and it is as incumbent in a theory to make provision for its legitimate demands as it is that it should have logical consistency. But if materialism be true, we are merely the creatures and tools of blind unconscious forces, and tragedy is comedy, and aspiration and heroism and self-sacrifice are entirely due to a certain collocation of the particles of our nervous systems. Will such a theory work?

We pass to consider sensation. Sensation is the effect produced in consciousness by certain nervous changes. The apparent causal order is, 1) the action of an external stimulus; 2) the resulting nervous change; 3) the conscious sensation. Some psychologists, Hamilton for instance, contend that there is something of a psychical nature intermediate between the

nervous action and the conscious sensation. The existence of this something—Hamilton called it latent modification of consciousness—is contended for on several grounds. One of them is, that the physical antecedents of sensation are often present when there is no sensation. There are authentic accounts of soldiers who were severely wounded in battle and remained unconscious of it until the excitement of the fight was over. But because there was no conscious psychical state are we justified in assuming an unconscious one? I cannot see why. Apart from experience, we should have no more reason to suppose that the infliction of a wound would cause pain than we have to suppose that a tree feels pain when it is cut down. Experience has taught us that under normal circumstances the infliction of a wound causes pain; if there are abnormal circumstances under which this is not the case, have we any right to invent a sub-conscious state in order to account for it? I cannot think so. For aught we can say, one is just as natural as the other. When the attention is free to follow the solicitations of feeling, the infliction of a wound causes pain. Will some one tell why? When the attention is powerfully drawn in another direction, the infliction of a wound may not cause pain. Will some one say why it may not be so? In the one case we have the infliction of a wound, and as its concomitant conscious pain; in the other we have the infliction of a wound and no conscious concomitant. Surely, before we are justified in assuming that there must be a psychical concomitant below consciousness, we must be able to explain why it is that the infliction of pain under normal circumstances has a psychical concomitant. The argument is based on a suicidal assumption. That assumption is, that an external stimulus must produce its full nervous effect without regard to the condition of the nervous system; and that the nervous system, in turn, must produce its full mental effect without regard to the state of mind. Now if this assumption is valid we are entitled—or rather compelled—to assume that this mental effect must in turn produce its full conscious result without regard to the state of the attention, which does not happen.

The existence of sub-conscious states is also based on such facts as the following:

a. The physical stimulus which excites the nervous action

is composed of an indefinite number of elements either of extension or of intensity. Now as the whole cause produces the effect of which we are conscious, each separate element must produce its separate psychical effect although we are not conscious of it. Hence there must be sub-conscious states.

b. Further, a regular succession of single beats is heard as single beats as long as the rate of recurrence falls below a certain standard. When it rises above this standard, we no longer hear a series of beats, but a musical note. Now as they were heard as a series when the rate of recurrence was relatively slow, they must *exist* as a series when the rate has become faster; and as they do not appear as such in consciousness, they must do so below consciousness.

c. Further, white light is composed of several primary colors, each of which must produce the psychical effect proper to it when acting alone, though the effect of which we are conscious is white light.

The first argument makes essentially the same assumption as the one already considered. Because a given quantum of stimuli produces a certain effect, it is assumed that each smallest part of it must produce an effect of like nature. But we have already seen that such assumptions are wholly without warrant.

The second argument, like the two already considered, ignores the fact that all we know about the connection between physical and mental facts is based on experience. On *a priori* grounds nothing would seem more unlikely than that motion of any kind would be the condition of any kind of sensation. And because we find it to be the case as a matter of fact, we have no right to go beyond experience, and decide that what does not exist in consciousness must exist somewhere else. What kind of mental facts, whether any or not, are connected with physical facts we must learn from experience, and where we have no experience we are entitled to no opinion.

The third argument makes the same general assumption, and need not, therefore, detain us.

Closely akin to this theory is another—that our sensations are not simple, but are susceptible of analysis into the elements of which they are composed.

Now these component elements are either conscious or unconscious. If they are held to be unconscious, the theory is iden-

tical with the one we have just considered. But if they are held to be conscious, its supporters must point out the alleged elements; and until they do so we may fairly assume that their theory has no foundation in fact.

Inasmuch as many psychologists contend that simple sensibility is the only original faculty of the mind—that all we believe is due to sensations and associations of sensations—this seems the proper place to consider the laws of association. Professor Bowne thinks that all of them—contiguity in space and time, cause and effect, similarity and contrast—may be reduced to one, the law of redintegration. This law is, “that the mind can be stimulated to perform anew any past function by the recurrence in experience of one or more of the factors that entered into that function.”—P. 91. The meaning of this is, that when any part of a previous experience is repeated the mind tends to restore the whole. If, for example, I have seen A and B but once, and then together, the sight of A would tend to recall the thought of B.

No argument is needed to show that all the laws except that of resemblance may be reduced to this formula. Contiguity in space and time have no effect on the mind save as the contiguous events and things are apprehended in a common experience. The same is true of cause and effect, means and end, contrast, etc. A cause suggests its effect, a means its end, because they have been seen or thought of together; because they have been factors of a common experience. Wherever contrasts suggest each other the reason will be found to be the same.

The law of association by resemblance is not as manifestly a case of the law of redintegration. Indeed, at first sight it seems impossible to so explain it. I see a Chinaman to-day whom I never saw before, and he makes me think of a Chinaman whom I saw in Denver ten years ago. How can this Chinaman, whom I saw to-day for the first time, be considered a factor of the experience which I had in seeing the Chinaman in Denver?

As the point is one of some difficulty, the reader shall have the benefit of Professor Bowne's own explanation:

“Likeness, as such, becomes a ground of suggestion only as the present experience, *AbcD*, contains elements, *bc*, common to another experience, *MbcN*. This common element, *bc*, stimulates the mind, under favorable circumstances, to fill out the allied form

MbcN. Sometimes *bc* is entirely inefficient, and then there is no suggestion. Sometimes it stimulates the mind to perform the function *MbcN*, but with only partial success. Then we have the peculiar experience of being reminded of something, we cannot say what. To understand this result, we must remember that all our experiences are compound, or have several distinguishable elements; for example, a picture may be distinguished by its subject, the treatment, the grouping, the drawing, the coloring, the frame, the hanging, and even by the location; and association or suggestion may take place through any one of these elements. Hence we may put an object, A, equal to its elements, *abcde*; and another object, B, may be put equal to its elements *ablmr*. If, then, we have A before us, and our attention be concentrated upon it, there will be no suggestion. In other cases, the factor *ab*, common to both A and B, may stimulate the mind to complete the function *ablmr*. If this succeeds, B will be recalled or suggested by virtue of the likeness of A to B; that is, because of the common factor *ab*. If it does not succeed to the extent of completely reproducing the function, then we say that A reminds us of something, we cannot say what.—Page 93.

The *ab* in this illustration are *identical thought factors joined with different sensational elements*. The Chinaman, for example, who to-day reminded me of the Chinaman whom I saw in Denver is identical with the latter *as a Chinaman*; different from him as a person with an individuality and characteristics of his own. I have but one concept of Chinaman, as I have but one of man, and this one concept I apply to every individual of the class. When I saw the Chinaman in Denver, I applied to him my concept of Chinaman; and when I saw the Chinaman to-day I had the same concept, though I applied it to a different individual. This reasoning enables us to subsume the law of association by resemblance under the law of redintegration.

But many psychologists, as we have seen, deny that there is any thought factor in our mental life in contradistinction from sensation and the laws of association. As this is on many accounts one of the most important questions of psychology, it deserves a careful consideration. Obviously the first thing to be done is to ascertain exactly what sensation is, apart from all the manipulations of thought or of the laws of association. Before we have a right to make up our minds that sensations worked over by the laws of association are capable of explaining our mental life, we must get clear ideas as to the material the laws

of association have to work on. The first step in this direction is the realization that a sensation *named*, considered as a member of a class, is *not* sensation as postulated by the theory. We speak of sensation of color, taste, smell, sound, etc. But all these are more than sensations; they are sensations *plus* something else, and that something is just that which gives them all their meaning—that which enables them to become the subject of intelligible discourse—that which enables us to regard them as members of a class. If we clearly realize that it is what I may call the universal aspect of any experience that gives it all its significance for thought, we shall see that sensation as an absolutely particular experience, deprived of all the contributions of thought, obstinately refuses to allow itself to be made the basis of an argument, because it cannot even be conceived except negatively. Professor Bowne well says that

the single sensation is not properly known as long as it is only an affection of the sensibility; for sensation as a state of feeling is not necessarily a clear mental object. A child whose appetite is satisfied, and whose body is comfortably warm and at ease in all respects, is doubtless in a pleasant state of feeling, but it has no rational apprehension of the fact. The dog on the rug and the cat on the hearth are probably very comfortable, but it is doubtful if they can be said to know it. Before the sensitive state can properly become a mental object, it must be discriminated from the self as a state, and set over against the self as its object. And even this would imply only a general objectification of the object, and no definite knowledge. In order to reach an intimate knowledge, the sensation must be classified and related. It is hardly known at all [I should say it is *not* known at all] until it is known as one of a kind; and in order to this it must be discriminated from the unlike and assimilated to the like. Until this is done, we have a feeling without a clearly defined content, and one to which we can give no definite place in our mental system.—Page 118.

All this appears to me incontrovertible, and the failure to apprehend it is the source of all the fallacies of the associationists. Confounding sensation as a simple affection of the sensibility with the consciousness of sensation, with sensation perceived to be of a certain kind and to be a member of a class—confounding the likeness of sensations with the consciousness of likeness, their existence with the consciousness of existence, their succession with the consciousness of their succession—they have had no difficulty in making sensibility do all the work of

thought. But when we clearly apprehend what sensation is, or rather, since that is impossible, what it is not, we shall see that there is another process in our mental life besides the "movements and affections of the sensibility; an activity upon them which results in the judgment, the establishment of relations, and thus in rational knowledge." This activity Prof. Bowne calls the thought process.

Prof. Bowne truly says that the existence of an activity above sensation is shown by the most familiar experiences:

When we view a complex but unfamiliar object we have a complete sensation, yet we cannot tell what we have seen, owing to the failure to establish relations among the component elements of the object. Again, when we look at a large number of objects, or a figure with many sides, we have the same result. The sensation is perfect, but knowledge is lacking. Nor is knowledge possible until the mind has reacted upon the sensation, and by a process of counting and construction mastered its significance. Again, we may pronounce a sentence whose words are all familiar, as, Peter's wife's mother's uncle's sister's husband is coming to see us. In such a case we might be greatly puzzled to identify an understanding of the words expressing the relation with a comprehension of the relation expressed. Nor will any mere staring at the object help us to knowledge. Objects cannot count themselves. The eyes cannot count them. The plurality of sensations constitutes the countable, not the counted. The significance of attention does not consist in an intenser stare, but in a new order of activity, the establishment of relations among the elements of sense experience. These facts show sensation may be complete and knowledge lacking, and cancel the attempt to identify sensation with the knowledge resulting from it.

And just as the sensibility would give us no sensations if it were not induced to act by an external stimulus, so there would be no thought activity if it were not occasioned by the presence of sensations.

But what is the nature of this thought activity? All thinking consists in establishing relations of likeness and difference. But things are neither like nor unlike in general, but in certain particular points or features. We say of two men that they resemble each other in height, or figure, or style of dress, or taste, etc., but a likeness which does not consist in likeness in certain particular respects is inconceivable. Hence, to understand the activity of thought we must ascertain the general relations which thought finds or establishes among its objects.

The first of these relations—variously called categories of thought, regulative ideas, etc.—which we will notice, is time. Sensationalists have no difficulty with the question as to the origin of the idea of time, because they confuse the sequence of sensations with the idea of sequence. Having the idea of sequence, all that is necessary is to abstract from this sense experience in order to get the idea of time as a whole. But the fallacy of this confusion has already been shown, and need not be dwelt on further.

There are three conditions of the idea of time: 1. A sequence of states of consciousness; 2. Identity of the conscious subject; 3. An apprehension of this sequence by means of a comparison of it with the abiding subject. If our being consisted simply of changing states, the idea of time, and indeed of all relations, would be impossible. The idea of time is an idea of a relation between two or more things, and both terms of the relation must be grasped by something outside of them to make the idea possible. The idea would be equally impossible in the absence of all succession or change. That union of the changing and changeless—of that which passes away and that which abides—which we find in our self-consciousness is a necessary condition of the idea of time. If there were no change there would be no times between which to establish the relation; if there were nothing abiding there would be nothing to establish the relation between them.

It is important to note that the mind is not passive in its apprehension of time. Erroneously supposing that the mind is passive in external perception—that all we have to do in order to perceive the world of material objects is to open our eyes and passively receive their impression—we are apt to make a similar mistake in our conception of the relation between the sequence of states of consciousness and the idea of time. We are apt to suppose that consciousness passively perceives the sequence of its states somewhat as a piece of wax receives the impressions of a seal. But in truth the matter is far otherwise. As the perception of the external world is the result of the mind's reaction upon sensations—as there would be for us no external world were it not for the constructive activity of thought—so the idea of time first arises in the mind when its successive experiences excite it to unite them under the form

of time; and apart from its activity there would be for us no time.

Space is a category in the perception of the external world. We perceive material objects only as in space. What is the origin of the idea of space? The theory of common sense is, that things are extended and in space, and that the mind directly knows them as such. Now whether things exist in space independently of the mind is a metaphysical question with which we have nothing to do. The question we are discussing has no relation to space as an objective existence, but merely as an idea of the mind. But if space does exist objectively, and things in it, their existence does not explain our perception of them. We have as much right to say that the revolution of the planets about the sun in elliptical orbits is a proof of itself, that men never could have been ignorant of it because it is true, as that the existence of space and of things in space is a sufficient explanation of our knowledge of space and our idea of space. "But," the champion of common sense may reply, "the revolution of the planets does not *act* upon us." "Neither does space," I reply. "If space exists objectively—and I insist that that is not the question under discussion—it is mere emptiness, the entire negation of all energy and force." "But at any rate things with spacial properties act upon us," retorts the supporter of common sense. "Yes," I reply, "and so do the planets, in revolving around the sun in elliptical orbits." "But they do not directly act upon the mind." "No, neither do the things that exist in space. They act upon our nervous systems, causing a motion in its particles, and the result of this motion is an indescribable experience, as unlike its cause as words are unlike thoughts, which we call sensations." The possession of sensations is not the perception of the external world. Not until the mind puts its own stamp upon them, makes them intelligible by laws of interpretation of its own, is there any perception. Is the fact that things existing in space are the remote cause of the sensations out of which we construct the external world a sufficient explanation of the fact that we perceive things in space? Is it not, rather, clear that we perceive things in space because of the *manner* in which the mind reacts upon its sensations? In and of themselves sensations are a confused and meaningless manifold. Into this

mass of unintelligible hieroglyphics the mind reads a meaning by laws of its own, and one of these laws is the category of space. And if there were no law according to which the mind, by virtue of its very nature, perceives things as in space, we should have no perception of space, however real space may be. Precisely as a savage might stare unintelligently at Raphael's great painting in Dresden because his mind would not furnish the principle of interpretation, so we may conceive a consciousness with the same sensations which we possess but *without* the form of space, because the consciousness in question does not supply the form of space.

But the associationalists deny that there is any category of space. They hold that sensations and the recollections of sensations recurring in time, according to the laws of association, entirely explain our idea of space. We cannot enter into the details of this theory or of the author's examination of it. We sum up the author's criticism in his own words: The associational theory "either begs the question, or else, instead of deducing the idea of space, calls certain associations of temporal sensations space."—P. 147.

Number is another category of thought. The activity of the mind in this category consists 1) in establishing a unit, and 2) in counting.

It may seem at first sight entirely gratuitous to assume an activity of the mind in establishing a unit. It seems as though units were furnished directly by experience, and that in being conscious of our experience we are conscious of units. Before we can decide this question we must free the term experience from ambiguity. The term may mean the direct and sole result of the action of the sensibility, or it may mean this result after it has been manipulated by the categories of thought. Those who differ with Professor Bowne, and hold that units are furnished directly by experience, must manifestly use the term in the first sense. Now it seems to me that a little reflection should convince any one that experience in this sense only presents to consciousness *that which thought may regard as a unit*. I see a yard-stick. Is that one, or is it three, or is it thirty-six? It is any one of the three according as the mind chooses to make the unit an inch or a foot or a yard. Shall I take an apple, or a bushel of apples, or an orchard, or a field, or

a county, or a state, or a continent, or a solar system, or a universe as my unit? Which decides this question—sensation or thought? Plainly all that sense-experience does is to furnish us with the numerable, but our ideas of number are furnished by the mind itself. The difficulty in perceiving this grows out of a lack of what I may call metaphysical imagination. Ask a young student who is just being initiated into the mysteries of metaphysics if there is sound in a desert when an explosion occurs in the absence of any consciousness, and he will probably answer, Yes. He has been so in the habit of projecting his sensations into the external world—of clothing material things with states of consciousness—that he cannot think of material things apart from them. In like manner, there are things which, on grounds of convenience, are universally regarded as units, and this point of view of the mind, if I may use such an expression, has been so habitually projected into the world of things that we find it hard not to regard it as a property of the world.

The categories so far considered are formal and logical, rather than metaphysical. Relations of likeness and unlikeness, of time and space and number, do not necessarily imply any existence beyond the consciousness in which those relations are apprehended. If there were but one being in the world—if the world consisted of one conscious being—he might conceivably be conscious of like and unlike states; he might seem to perceive a world of things existing under the forms of space and time, and having the attributes of number, just as we do now, so far as the categories which we have so far considered are concerned. To get out of ourselves, to pass beyond the bounds of our narrow subjective existence into a world that exists apart from and independently of us, we must have recourse to the metaphysical categories—to the categories of substance and cause and effect.

Two very different questions concerning substance and cause are frequently confused with each other—the question as to the origin of the ideas of substance and cause, and the question as to the reality of substance and cause. Whence comes my idea of substance and my idea of cause is one question. Is there any such thing as substance and is there any such thing as cause is totally a different question, and should be carefully

discriminated from the other. The second question is a question of metaphysics rather than of psychology, though there is a point in which the two seem to coincide. In discussing the question of the reality of the mental subject, we sought to show that the existence of the mental subject appears from a simple analysis of the facts of consciousness. Here the facts of consciousness—psychological truths—seem to establish the ontological fact of the existence of the mental subject. And so they do—but only *during the moment in which we are conscious of them*. As soon as the facts of which I am conscious pass beyond the sphere of consciousness into recollection, I only remember that I had them; and though the present facts of consciousness always afford me assurance of the reality of the mental subject, I can know that this subject abides from moment to moment, I can know the identity of self only as I can trust my memory, and the trustworthiness of memory is a question of metaphysics, not of ontology. As to the origin of our idea of substance, we have only to get a clear conception of it to see that it does not come from sensation. Substance denotes “reality in relation to attributes,” and the senses give us no knowledge of any thing but attributes. The eye tells us of color, the ear of sounds, the nose of odors, the tongue of tastes, but beyond this they are silent. They cannot lift the veil that curtains phenomena. If, then, we have the idea of substance it could not have come from sensation. Similarly with the idea of cause. Cause means “reality in relation to activities.” Such an idea cannot have come from experience. Since Hume published his “Inquiry,” it has been a truism in metaphysics that experience shows us nothing but antecedence and sequence. If our idea of cause contains more than this, it could not have come from experience.

As to the metaphysical question concerning the reality of cause, it needs no great acuteness to enable one to perceive that a denial of it cuts away the only bridge by means of which we can span the chasm that yawns between the *ego* and the *non ego*. No metaphysician has ever denied the reality of causes in every sense of the term. The empiricists, for example, have only contended that cause is not what Professor Bowne defines it, “reality in relation to activities,” but some kind of time relation. John Stuart Mill defined it “invariable unconditional

antecedence." But that kind of cause, as the empiricists conceive it, will not avail to take us beyond the narrow confines of our subjective existence. For, as Mill was careful to state, the antecedent and consequent in question must both of them be phenomenal, something which may be conceived as capable of appearing to me. He expressly said that we have no right to believe in a cause in the sense of a relation between phenomena and something which is not phenomenal, because we are justified in believing in causes in the sense of a relation between phenomena. Hence all that such a law of causation can do is to serve as a basis for belief in phenomena and laws of phenomena; a non-phenomenal fact cannot, in the nature of the case, be revealed by it. If, then, I hold the empirical theory of causation, it cannot justify my belief in the existence of any human being save myself.

Many do not see the force of this argument because they erroneously imagine that other human beings are phenomena. But if we clearly realize that it is only as material objects that other human beings are phenomenal—that as conscious beings each human being is to every other an ontological fact, if he be a fact at all—if we see that the gap between one human being and another is as wide as that between the present and the past—to be crossed by thought but in no possible way by experience—we shall see that the same weakness which disqualifies the law of causation, as empiricists conceive, from taking us to an ontological external world, likewise disqualifies it from guaranteeing the existence of other people.

We go on to consider the feelings. Feeling cannot be defined. It can, perhaps, be best described as pleasurable or painful consciousness. To the question why we feel, various answers have been given, but none of them are satisfactory. Some have attempted to deduce feeling from knowledge, but though feeling depends on knowledge it is totally different from it. Nor can we see any reason why a being who knows should also feel. That lack of metaphysical imagination of which I have already spoken makes it difficult to realize this. "Is it possible," I can imagine one saying, "for any one to see himself threatened with instant death without any feeling?" Certainly, if he had no love of life; and love of life is a kind of feeling the absence of which is very easily conceivable. "But

could he see some one suffering intense agony without a feeling of pity?" Certainly, if he was destitute of all regard for the pleasure or pain of others; and does not history make that quite easy to be conceived? In brief, the idea that there is any necessary connection between feeling and knowledge is entirely due to the fact that because we cannot imagine ourselves knowing and not feeling, we think there is a necessary connection between them. But the truth is, that we can conceive of perception, thought, reflection—of all our cognitive activities—in the absence of any feeling. We know and we also feel, and that is all we can say about it.

Nor is the attempt to show that feeling is the result of a perception of the bearing of a given state on our well-being any more successful. It is, indeed, identical with the argument the fallacy of which we have just pointed out; but ignoring that, and granting for the sake of argument that pleasure is the result of the perception of the beneficial tendencies of a given state, and pain the result of the perception of the reverse, nothing is done toward showing why these perceptions give pleasure and pain. We can conceive of a being so constituted as to get pleasure only from that which is injurious and pain only from that which is beneficial. Indeed, Herbert Spencer says, that the reason why in the majority of cases beneficial actions are a source of pleasure and injurious actions of pain is, that animals differently constituted could not compete in the struggle for existence with animals who derive pleasure from beneficial actions and pain from those that injure them, and that the result is that such animals have died out and left a race of beings such as we ourselves are. So far, then, from there being a necessary connection between the perception of an action that tends to benefit us and pleasure, we are obliged to say, that, if there is any such connection, it is simply an opaque fact which we have to accept as true without being able to assign any reason for it, unless, indeed, we accept the conjectures of the evolutionist, as such. But it may fairly be doubted whether such a connection is by any means universal. A child wants candy even after it has learned by a painful experience that it is likely to make him sick; and there are few men who are not in some respects overgrown children, taking pleasure out of what they know is injurious in its tendencies.

Aristotle, and following him Hamilton, held that unimpeded energy, according to the laws of the faculty in question, is pleasurable, while the opposite is a source of pain. Said Hamilton: "A feeling of pleasure is experienced when any power is consciously exercised in a suitable manner; that is, when we are neither on the one hand conscious of any restraint upon the energy which it is disposed spontaneously to put forth, nor, on the other, conscious of any effort in it to put forth an amount of energy greater either in degree or in continuance than what it is disposed freely to exert. In other words, we feel positive pleasure in proportion as our powers are exercised, but not over exercised; we feel positive pain in proportion as they are compelled either not to operate or to operate too much. All pleasure thus arises from the free play of our faculties and capacities; all pain from their compulsory repression or compulsory activity." This theory undoubtedly explains a large class of the phenomena of pleasure and pain. A healthy man enjoys moderate exercise. A moderate and normal stimulation of the eye and ear give pleasure. A vigorous mind enjoys the acquisition of knowledge. Also a healthy man is pained both by excessive exercise and by the lack of sufficient exercise. The eye and the ear may become fatigued. The mind may become tired even of the acquisition of knowledge. But there are phenomena that obstinately refuse to be explained by the law. Why is quinine bitter? Not, surely, because of the compulsory repression or activity of the power of taste. And why does the perception of a beautiful object please us while one that is not beautiful is a source of pain? Says Sully: •

A beautiful natural object, as a noble tree, delights us by its gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the whole to its surroundings; and finally by its effect on the imagination, its suggestions of heroic persistence, of triumph over the adverse forces of winds and storms.

Now as far as our pleasure in such a case is due to the effect of the object on the imagination, it may fairly be brought under Hamilton's generalization. But as much activity may be required to perceive an absence of "gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the

whole to its surroundings," as is necessary to perceive them. In other words, activity is necessary to the perception of that which gives us pleasure, while an equal amount of activity is the condition of pain. Further, if there were no exception to the law we should still be unable to say *why* we feel. We could give no reason for the connection between pleasure and normal activity and pain and abnormal activity or abnormal inactivity. We should only be able to say that it is so, and acquiesce in it as an inexplicable fact.

We go on to consider several important classes of feelings. The first class which Professor Bowne considers is, what he calls the *ego* feelings. This class he defines as those feelings which are not elements of passive pain or pleasure, but which exist merely through their relation to our self-esteem and desire for self-assertion; those of which the *ego* is at once their subject and their object.

This relation to self is a source of a large part of the pleasures and pains that make up our emotional life. It makes the recollection of exceptional pains and hardships a source of pleasure by enabling us to feel that *we* have endured what most men have not endured. It is an important element in what is usually considered esthetic pleasure. The admiration of a beautiful painting is one thing, the admiration of ourselves because we have power to appreciate its beauty is quite another. Also the pleasure we derive from the possession of a beautiful painting, in so far as that pleasure does not spring from the thought that we have daily access to its beauty, is properly an *ego* feeling. It constitutes an element of what is usually considered an approving conscience. The admiration of a good deed, by whomsoever performed, is a purely moral pleasure; that surplus of pleasure arising from the consciousness that it is *we* who have done it, that the doing of it is a proof of our superiority, is a pure *ego* feeling.

The social feelings are the love of family, friends, country, mankind, etc. Some psychologists have attempted to deduce our social feelings from our selfish impulses. They have assumed a being with nothing but egoistic impulses, and have sought to show how he was transformed into a social and benevolent being. He seeks society in order to satisfy his desire for approbation. He becomes benevolent because he realizes

that others are necessary to him. But, unfortunately for the theory, the social feelings manifest themselves at such an early age as to make it impossible to attribute their origin to a perception of the advantages to be gained from society. And granting the ability to perceive the advantages of living in society prior to the development of the social feelings, there is no power in living in society for *such a reason* to develop the social feelings. An Iago-like simulation of social feelings for the sake of personal gain would have no power to transmute selfishness into benevolence. In truth, whoever contemplates the whole of human life with no theory to support will have no hesitation in admitting that the social impulses are as integral a part of our nature as the egoistic impulses.

The impersonal or disinterested feelings consist of three sub-classes—the esthetic feelings, the ethical feelings, and the religious feelings.

The esthetic feelings include those pleasurable feelings awakened by what is pretty, graceful, beautiful, ludicrous, witty, sublime, etc., either in nature, human beings, or works of art. The two most prominent characteristics of the esthetic feelings are their *inutility* and their *shareability*. The pleasure resulting from the perception of a beautiful object is derived solely from its beauty. As children play for the sake of play, without any ulterior end, so men admire the beautiful, and are pleased when they see the beautiful, simply because it is beautiful.

The capacity to be shared is another characteristic of the esthetic feelings. Coming, as they do, largely through the senses of sight and hearing, they may be enjoyed by a large number of people at the same time, not only without any diminution of pleasure, but with a positive increase of it through “interchanges of sympathy.”

The three elements of esthetic enjoyment are what Sully calls the sensuous or material element, the perceptual or formal element, and the associative or ideal element. By the sensuous or formal element is meant colors, tones, odors, rhythmic movements, and the like, both singly and in combination. The pleasure derived from the perception of drawing, architecture, and sculpture illustrates the formal or perceptual element. The ideal or associative element includes all the pleasure arising

through the suggestions of the object. Many objects not at all pleasing in themselves give a high degree of pleasure through their suggestiveness. One who never lived in the country would hardly derive any pleasure from the croaking of a frog or the cackling of a goose; while to one who was familiar with these sounds in his boyhood they may be a source of the keenest delight. A riderless horse is not under ordinary circumstances an especially interesting object, but walking behind the hearse of a dead general it may have a high degree of pathetic beauty. A broken column in a building, to use the author's illustration, is utterly ugly; in a cemetery it may touch the deepest chords of feeling. Many objects contribute all these elements of esthetic pleasure. A fine cathedral delights the eye by the richness of its colors and its subdued light; it pleases the intellect by the symmetry and harmony of all its wealth of detail and the skill with which they are all arranged to contribute to the making of a noble building; it touches the imagination and heart by that solemn and infinite suggestiveness which makes it seem like a cross section of the great universe itself.

The object of the moral feelings is conduct of a certain kind. The perception of or reflection upon good actions pleases us, while conduct of the opposite character is a source of pain. The quality of the feeling depends to some extent on whether the action approved or disapproved has been done by us or another. We feel remorse as we think of our own bad deeds, indignation as we think of the bad deeds of another.

The most marked characteristic of ethical feeling is the sense of obligation to do what we perceive to be right, and shun what we perceive to be wrong. Both these characteristics—the feeling of obligation and the impulse to act in harmony with it—differentiate it very sharply from the esthetic feelings. We feel no obligation to cultivate a taste for the beautiful, nor does the perception of the beautiful look forward to any kind of action. The beauty of a beautiful object is an end in itself, and suggests to him who admires it nothing but the contemplation of it. And yet there is a close connection between ethical and esthetic feelings. Professor Bowne brings this out very clearly in the following passage:

The ideal commands perfection and condemns all below it. Hence many have thought that obligation might transcend ability. This, justice rejects with indignation; and yet it is the most prominent fact of moral existence that to do the best we can satisfies no one. This is due to the fact that the ideal, as such, is esthetic, and takes no account of ability, but only of perfection or imperfection. Ethics, on the other hand, while getting its law from the ideal, is forced to limit its actual requirements to the ability of the agents. This double point of view underlies some chronic disputes in ethics and theology.

As to the origin of the idea of right, the author avows his faith in an ethical development both of the individual and of the race, but maintains that this development is impossible unless the mind has an "original ethical germ or predisposition" which contains an immanent law of moral development. The great diversity of moral opinions he regards as due to the "profound interactions" between the moral and intellectual nature. Different men have different experiences of the consequences of conduct, different conceptions of tendencies, different theories of the world, and the result is different ethical codes.

Professor Bowne regards the religious sentiments as differing from the ethical in that the object of them is some supernatural being or beings, conceived as personal. Hence he first seeks to ascertain the origin of the idea of a supernatural person. He rejects the view that we have an intuitive knowledge of the existence of God, because men generally undertake to prove it. He thinks that the conception of the supernatural is the outcome of the total experience of the human mind,

not as the result of conscious inferential processes, but as the expression of its own needs and nature. As the result of some sensations, we posit a world of things; as the result of others, we posit a world of persons; as the result of our total experience, we posit God. The result is not the outcome of logical compulsion, but of a certain psychological necessity expressed in the nature of our intelligence. It is not made or deduced, but grows out of life itself. This view is the only one which clearly accounts for the universality and persistence of the idea.

But with the bare affirmation of the supernatural, the religious problem is by no means solved. The idea has next to be defined so as to meet the demands made upon it. In this work all the factors of our complex nature work together. Each faculty has its special ideal; and God is the ideal of the whole nature or the ideal of ideals. The intellect demands unity, and contributes its

ideal of perfect reason and insight. The conscience furnishes its ideal of perfect righteousness and holiness. The esthetic nature furnishes its ideal of perfect beauty and harmony. The heart furnishes its ideal of goodness and love. These are all united in the thought of God, the ideal of religion. When this is impossible there is discord in our nature, with resulting dissatisfaction. As long as any claim of heart, or conscience, or intellect is unrecognized, there can be no abiding peace. But when all the claims of our many-sided nature are united in the thought of an all-wise and holy God of love, our whole nature is at peace, and each faculty finds its claims at once recognized and assured. The intellect finds its highest support and warrant in the thought of an eternal reason at the root of things. The conscience rests secure in the thought of a throne of righteousness which can never be overturned, a Holy Will which can neither be defied nor mocked. The esthetic nature finds its full satisfaction, and the heart finds an object worthy of everlasting love.—Pp. 212, 213.

Desires are feelings arising from reflection upon the causes of our pleasures and pains, the action of which is conceived as possible in the future.

It is a much disputed question as to whether we desire the pleasure or the object which gives it; the beautiful object or the delight in beauty. The truth seems to be that we usually *think* of the object, but that its capacity to give us pleasure is the sole cause of our desire for it.

In considering volition we must be careful not to confuse it with its psychological concomitants. Because volition is generally based on a judgment, and because it often springs from desire, we must not suppose that it is either judgment or desire. They are, indeed, very different. That which we decide to be wise is by no means that which we invariably will to do; and that which we desire we do not necessarily will; since though there may be conflicting desires there cannot be conflicting volitions. "The will is the power which the soul has of controlling itself within certain limits, and the volition is an act of such control."

Professor Bowne maintains the freedom of the will against determinism on the ground, 1.) That if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately. According to determinism, the strongest desire always issues in action. There is no more possibility, according to the theory, of the prevalence of a weaker desire than there is that a balance containing a one-pound weight will sink when the other contains

two. Now just as the balance containing the heavier weight sinks, and must sink immediately, so, if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately, and hesitation, vacillation, deliberation are impossible.

2.) Professor Bowne objects to determinism, also, on the ground that the logical outcome of it is philosophical skepticism. To attain truth we must have a standard of truth, and we must be able to direct our rational activity in accordance with this standard. We must be able to restrain our believing propensities and hold our judgment in reserve in the absence of evidence. If this is not possible, one conclusion is as good as another; every thing that we believe being merely the outcome of mental mechanism.

3.) The theory does away with all moral responsibility. We have already seen that a true theory must be workable; must satisfy not only the claims of our intelligence, but also of our whole nature. Hence a theory so hopelessly antagonistic to our moral and emotional nature must be rejected.

Further, the apparent presumption in favor of determinism will not stand the test of a careful examination. The incomprehensibility of the freedom of the will is, undoubtedly, one of the strongest reasons men have for rejecting it. But does not all explanation repose on and start from the inexplicable? What reason can be given for any fact, in the last analysis, save that it is so? That the soul should have the power of choosing between conflicting desires is no more improbable on *a priori* grounds than that matter should attract matter.

But the law of causation, it is claimed, contradicts the freedom of the will. Does it in truth? According to the law of causation, every event must have a cause. Is not the mind itself the cause of its volitions? Undoubtedly when the law of causation is interpreted as identical with the uniformity of nature, freedom and causation are inconsistent, for the advocates of freedom hold that the mind is a cause which in given circumstances may produce either of two or more results, while according to the doctrine of the uniformity of nature the same antecedent or group of antecedents can have but one consequent. But there is no ground for such an interpretation of the law of causation. The freedom of the will is a fact of which most men think they are conscious. The uniformity of nature, even when we re-

strict the term nature to the external world, is by no means proved, however strongly we incline to believe it; and before we have a right to extend its meaning and make it include the phenomena of volition, the freedom of the will must be disproved on other grounds. For these reasons Professor Bowne thinks we are justified in believing in the freedom of the will. He does not regard it as "absolutely proved," but as "a necessary postulate of reason and conscience."

Consciousness is the last factor of our mental life which Professor Bowne considers. He defines consciousness as the specific feature or condition of all mental states, not as something apart from or antecedent to them, but as that element which constitutes them mental states. He rejects the identification of consciousness with knowing because of the difficulty, on that supposition, of determining the relation of consciousness to the phenomena of volition and sensibility.

Consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object. Those who deny it, and maintain the possibility of a purely sensitive consciousness containing no reference either to subject or object, deny that there is any subject of our mental states. But we have already seen that this denial is illogical and absurd.

A distinction is often made between consciousness and self-consciousness, but without good reason. We may, indeed, concentrate our attention upon the object or upon the subject, and to that extent there is a difference between the facts signified by the terms. In consciousness attention is centered upon the object; in self-consciousness, upon the subject. But as no concentration of attention upon the object enables us to forget that it is we who are thinking of it, so no concentration of attention upon the subject enables us to forget that we exist in a certain state, since in no other way can we make ourselves an object of thought.

But though consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object, we must be careful not to regard the subject and object of which we are conscious as ontological facts. The object of which we are conscious is states of consciousness; the subject in consciousness is the *ego* which has those states. Not understanding this, Hamilton argued against idealism on the ground that we are directly

conscious of the external world, although we have the same consciousness of the external world in dreams as in our waking states.

We must also be careful to distinguish between our thought or conception of ourselves, and our feeling or experience of ourselves. The former is a late product in our psychical history, the latter is present at the beginning of our conscious existence. This distinction enables us to understand why children are so slow in learning to use the personal pronoun *I*, and why some people never cease to identify the body with self; they have the *feeling*, the experience of self, but no conceptual knowledge of it. Not till the attention is concentrated upon the self as the subject of the mental life does the *feeling* of self become the conception of self.

I have thus attempted to give a brief account of Professor Bowne's answer to his first question: What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? How imperfect and fragmentary my sketch is no one can be more vividly conscious than I am. But if I so far succeed in interesting my readers as to induce them to seek a knowledge of the book at first hand my purpose will be fully accomplished. I cannot better express my appreciation of it than by saying that if a man should determine to limit himself to the study of one book on psychology, I know of no book in the English language I would recommend before Professor Bowne's. I do not pretend to agree with him in all respects—did two metaphysicians ever entirely agree?—but where he seems to me to be wrong the general trend of his thought seems to me to be toward truth. And he combines lucidity of exposition, and aptness and power of illustration, with a profundity and acuteness of thought to an extent rarely equaled. The reader who is repelled by his pages may feel sure that he has no aptitude for philosophical study.

ART. III.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

"To perfect the system and forever prevent revolution, *power* is reserved to the *people* by amendments of their Constitution to remove every imperfection which time may lay bare, and adapt it to unforeseen contingencies." So writes Bancroft, at once an historian and a political philosopher, who beyond most of his class has come to understand and appreciate the genius of republicanism, and the fundamental principles of the ideal American polity. Applying this law to the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it may be premised that no claim has ever been made that it was originally perfect, or that it has since grown into a state that admits of no emendation, although the wisdom of its founders deserves the highest praise. They fully met the demands of their times, and laid a foundation of just principles upon which they reared a system of administration which might become the regulating force in a great Church of the future, with duly guarded provisions for the introduction of such modifications or amendments as time and experience might show to be needed.

And now, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, during which the little one has become millions, it still remains the fact that its polity has not become so adjusted as to include the great body of its members in its growing forces.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is the product of a great missionary enterprise. It has been from the first conducted on the principle of a self-sustaining work. There was not, in the beginning, a great missionary society to open up new fields and nourish the feeble societies, but the pioneer Methodist preachers went "without purse or scrip." The people were in the "wilderness," but they were not destitute of some religious knowledge, and this partial and imperfect preparation made them accessible, so that immediate success was attained. The pioneer preachers must also become the shepherds for these new converts. They were hungering for the Gospel, and any system that would meet the emergency and satisfy the immediate demands of the time would, in the providence of God, become the instrumentality for good. The

Church of to-day is what it is by reason of having had such antecedents.

A very practical problem now before us is, What disposition ought we to make of our acquired forces? If it were simply a matter of wealth, it might be disposed of very easily; but we, as a Church, have become possessors of men and women. They have more than reached their majority in years; and besides, they have intelligence and piety. They have a love and a loyalty for Methodism that can be safely trusted with any interests that may legitimately fall to them. The thought will not be entertained for a moment that our ecclesiastical polity underrates the intelligence and loyalty of the individual membership of the Church. The individual and constitutional right of the governed must be an after consideration with any Church having such a history as our own. All these things come as do other gifts in the providence of God, and must be disposed of according to the disposition of human judgment and discretion. The continent of America had to be discovered first, and possession of known territory fixed, and then followed the complicated and associated rights of those who comprised the community. The few to whom power was given, without representation on the part of the people, might have prolonged their period of rule if they had adjusted themselves to the interests of the governed. Revolt and revolution brought what ought to have come by amicable processes of adjustments of laws and regulations to the changed condition of things.

The membership of our Church, until lately, have consented to be governed without class representation. Indeed, they have never demanded a change, but, like loyal subjects, they have waited and accepted gratefully whatever power or privilege has been conferred by those to whom the governing power was committed. The only radical concession ever made was the admission of lay delegation to the General Conference, which, indeed, secured a nearer approach to the people in the legislation of Church affairs; but that arrangement secured a very remote representation to the laity, and accordingly the pulsations are neither deep nor strong. It seemed at first an assurance that other changes would follow, bringing the great constituency of the Church into closer connection with those who rule; but after nearly twenty years no progress in that direc-

tion has been made. If it had been demonstrated in the agitation that the ministry were unwilling to trust the membership with the responsibilities of partnership in the government of the Church, then bitterness and distrust might have been created; but nothing of that kind appears. But there was an honest conviction with very many that the change in the form proposed might not be for the best. On the other hand, the wisdom and efficiency of those who held the reins of power were not questioned, but the environments called for a readjustment. The fundamental maxim of conservatism, "Let well enough alone," strong as the statement was to those who knew the history of the Church, was not sufficient to check the rising tide of discussion, and the trial must be made for the new order of things.

Several reasons might be assigned for the past success of Methodism. It would not be safe, neither would it be just, for us to say that any *one* thing has been sufficient of itself to account for the work already done. Three general features may be named:

1. The ministry had the best form of theology for the masses. The creed could be traced to the Bible. It had an impartial application to all men, and the wants of humanity were fully met in its provisions. These pioneer itinerants could be biblical and at the same time have a most complete assurance that they held the common sense road to the hearts of the people. These preachers battered away at Calvinism until our membership were thoroughly grounded in the Arminianism of Methodism. The field was open for discussion, and the membership was compelled to join in the contest. Other dogmas were attacked with like results. These garnered truths became the property of the whole Church, and hence we have a membership fairly well informed on all questions of Christian doctrine.

2. The Christian evidences of conversion became a stirring feature of that period. The terms conviction, repentance, faith, conversion, the new birth, summed up in the one expression, experimental religion, were emphasized by the preachers, and a revival of heart religion ensued.

3. Methodism adopted a polity for aggressive work. It must go where there was no invitation, and make a church society

out of those converted to its faith. This was the character of the movement over the whole field, and hence we see the wisdom exercised in the creation of a church government such as we have. It had a military precision in its organization. It could execute its plans. Loyalty to the appointing power by pastor and people was a cardinal virtue. And under this system of action it must be conceded the Church has done nobly. It would exhibit a great lack of wisdom and want of appreciation did we fail to recognize the value of the work done, and, of course, of the agencies by which its results have been reached.

And now a very practical work lies before us. Our successors will demand something tangible. A very nice theory, without a demonstration, will have no real value and no future. Our ancestors met the emergencies of their times, and we have entered into their labors, and reap that we sowed not. This Church of a pure faith, and a good experience, and the best polity, taking all in all, of all the denominations, should have a future worthy of its record.

Is it a thought to be entertained by the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church that it may become completely American, and at the same time retain all its essential characteristics? This seems to be within easy reach, and need not involve any revolutionary changes. The episcopacy need not be disturbed; our connectional system of government would be solidified, and would reach a little deeper into the foundations; our doctrines would not be jeopardized, and our itinerancy would have an additional security for a continued work. The Church ought to feel that its interests are safe in the hands of its friends. It is simply asking that the unemployed energies shall be utilized and brought into a closer sympathy with the Church and its work.

Lay delegation in the General Conference was one step in the right direction, and toward the people, or the membership of the Church; but it stopped short of popular government. It is class-legislation. A selected few have the privilege to exercise the right of franchise, and the power to determine the local interests of the Society and participate also in the higher counsels of the Church. Instead of Quarterly Conference lay representation, which is all that we now have, our *membership* ought to have personal representation. An individual who

represents the interests of others ought to receive his credentials from those who are to be represented. It is a serious charge for other denominations to make against our intelligent loyal membership that they are practically disfranchised, and yet no man can repel the imputation. If our civil government, as Americans, were not so democratic as it is, and other denominations were as we are in the matter of representation, then we could more easily satisfy our people, because our record is a good one, and the interests of the governed have all along been the prominent consideration. Besides all this, our system paralyzes individual rights that come to us as Christian freemen as well as by our civil government. We may be glad to make the statement that our Methodist membership are not an office-seeking people. In many of our large towns in the West, it is frequently remarked, Methodism has no representation, or a very slight recognition, on boards of education and in other local matters, although our Church is numerically and often financially in the ascendent. It may be, some will consider that our Church polity has little influence in this direction, but it will be discovered to be a very potent factor in the every-day life of its members. A low valuation of individual rights will help to obliterate any claim in that direction, and indifference will have a like tendency.

Our Church polity carries several hundred thousand of its members—the larger portion of its adult membership, in fact—as *passengers*. Practically they are not properly members of the corporation, their voice is not heard. Their only duty is to pay their passage—do the work assigned them—and enjoy the privileges secured to them. When a church is to be built or repaired, or the pastor's salary is to be raised, they are expected to do their part, or a liberal sum is desired as a voluntary offering. Our system, in this particular, goes directly to the pocket. If our membership were as ignorant as the membership of the Roman Catholic Church, it would even then be a very questionable method. But when we consider the intelligence of our people and their loyalty to our doctrines and usages, there is no reason why their rights of copartnership should be curtailed or withheld. For an illustration of our automatic arrangement between our membership and the bishops we have only to call attention to the collection for their

support. They have had no voice in their selection, but they are expected to contribute in a very mechanical way for their support. As long as the Book Concern paid the bill there was little seeming responsibility: About all that the Church at large expected was, that the bishops should do their duty and honor their high position.

The same difficulty exists between the pastor and his membership. The Quarterly Conference fixes the salary, and then the local society is expected to meet the obligation. They have no representation in the matter—their voice has not been heard, and there is no provision in our economy by which they may speak. The only alternative is to pay, or else repudiate the claim. If the latter is chosen, then they are placed in a false and odious position.

There would be an easy way out of all this difficulty if the membership of the Quarterly Conference had their authority from the suffrages of the membership. Lay delegation in the General Conference has a line that is complete as far as the Quarterly Conference, but there it ends. The representation terminates at that point. The selection of officers and the legislation determined by the laity in the General Conference could make answer only to the Quarterly Conference.

It is hardly probable that our membership will continue to hold their individual rights by such a slight tenure. Murmurs of discontent are already heard among the more intelligent. The discontent has not taken the form of revolt, and is not likely to assume that form, but the reasonableness and justice of such a claim are being formulated for a speedy adjustment.

A distinguished jurist was asked why he did not present this claim of the unrepresented of the Church, and his reply was substantially this: "It can be discussed to better advantage by the ministry. They hold the key to the situation, and concessions will come with better grace without a demand being made by the laity. No complaints need be made against those who hold the reins of power, and there will be no occasion to call in question the intelligence and loyalty of the laity to whom larger interests may be committed," both with safety and to the advantage of the whole.

Some change will soon be made in the polity of the Church to meet this growing necessity. It is well to have all of the

light that can be gathered, so that the very best thing may be done when the final action is taken. It is not the purpose of the writer to cause unnecessary agitation, or create discontent, but to forestall the latter and stimulate an intelligent consideration of the important issues that are upon us.

The last General Conference increased the maximum number of stewards to thirteen. This was done to secure a larger number of the representative members to Quarterly Conference privileges. But why continue to enlarge upon class-privilege; why legislate to enfranchise a limited number hitherto unprovided for, and leave the great majority as they were, without a voice in the local work of the society, and no voice in the legislative counsels of the Church?

The plan for creating a mission Church by the polity of Methodism is a complete system for propagandism. It is unique, and it gives power to reach beyond present possession and occupy new territory, and it is all done in the name and with the authority of *bona fide* members. But we, by our polity, continue to recognize a very large portion of the old members as mission material. Churches have been organized for decades, and the largest part of the membership has never had a voice in the local or in the legislative affairs of the Church.

Look at the process of constituting the members of the Quarterly Conference; especially the stewards, and in many localities the trustees, of the church. These official members are appointed on the nomination of the pastor, elected to the offices named by the privileged number who, having been before so nominated, compose the Quarterly Conference. This process of reproduction and accretion is foreign to American ideas, and would be most dangerous in politics. Methodism is fortunate if it has escaped all of the dangers involved in the system.

Our practical, orthodox, and loyal membership ought to have the right of suffrage. We would be out-and-out American in our methods, and none the less effective in our work; but rather the Church of the people, in a more complete sense than ever.

The stewards, trustees, and Sunday-school board are the prominent office-bearers of our Church. To these are committed important and vital interests in the home work. These workers should be elected by those who have the work to do. If it were necessary to consider these as cabinet officers

to the pastor instead of as the servants of the people then it would be well to have the pastor make the selection, subject to the approval of the members. It is replied that the pastor can make better selections than the whole Church. That is the very question in dispute, and, more than that, the question of right is involved. There is an assumption of power without even a delegated authority, as conducted by the Quarterly Conference. Then again, it is said, there is less friction by our present method than if privileges were extended to a larger voting body. If that be the end to be gained, then our board of bishops might in secret session elect such persons as they might choose, and the excitement and friction of an election at the General Conference could be avoided. Friction is not always a misfortune, to be deprecated. Machinery must have its bearings, but these ought to be wisely chosen. We could, I presume, trust our bishops to make choice of men for the chief places—the book agents, editors, and secretaries—but we are better satisfied to leave the choice to the larger body. The latter, though not by the election of its members, still because of its numbers, more nearly represents the membership of the Church. It must furnish some degree of satisfaction to the man charged with public duties to know that he was selected by those who had the work to be done. Bishop Asbury refused to be ordained to the office of bishop until he was chosen by the vote of his brethren [but his liberalism proceeded no further].

These officers in the subordinate places of the local Church would enter on their work with a proper indorsement if elected by the membership, and an importance would be given to the positions that they do not have at present. A few persons are clothed with power to decide whether they will continue themselves in office for another year, or what others they will admit. It is, in its form and theory, a system of unlimited despotism, and is capable of great abuse. It is true that the large majority of those same persons who hold the official positions would be selected even if submitted to the choice of the larger number. If it were otherwise, another kind of friction would be produced that would prove very disastrous.

Further, these few must determine who will represent them in the Lay Electoral Conference every fourth year to choose lay delegates to the General Conference. All these powers can be

employed without a single privilege or protest on the part of the membership outside of the Quarterly Conference.

The law-making body ought to provide for these disfranchised and unrepresented adult members. The Methodist Episcopal Church would in such case become "our Church" in every locality, and the life-currents of these unemployed forces would not only find a channel to the home work but to the legislative body.

The question arises, Is there any *demand* for the engrafting of this procedure into our polity? We need it to *employ* and *interest* our membership in our own Church affairs. We do provide for them in the religious privileges, and are rewarded with active intelligent workers. Take the average Presbyterian, and he will not compare favorably with the average Methodist when it comes to prayer and testimony. He has not had the practical education. But you examine him on the polity of his Church, and the average Methodist will be put to shame in the comparison. We have educated our membership religiously, but not ecclesiastically.

There are some *conditions* that call for this change. Methodism in its formative period was the revival Church. It ought to continue its leadership in this respect. But now many other denominations are striving, with a good degree of success, to equal her in proficiency in this department of work. It is not essential to join a Methodist Church to enjoy a class-meeting, or a wide-awake prayer-meeting. We do not attract to us in these particulars as formerly. Many came to us because of the practical experience our fathers preached. Other Churches have become enriched by our converts, and now it is a very common thing to hear it said, "Why, he preaches just like a Methodist." Our distinctive Arminian doctrine has become the property of all the orthodox denominations. Our episcopacy and our settled itinerancy are not absorbed yet, but even these are held as desirable.

On the other hand, many sects claim to be the Church of the people in an organic sense, and we are put to silence in the discussion. All we can do is, to demonstrate to them that we have made a wonderful record, and have outrun them all, and that our officials seldom abuse the power given to them, although our methods are not very democratic. It puts us on our good

behavior, but it must be humiliating to the adult members to confess to a rival Church that they are dealt with as foreigners or infants. There are some indications that we are vulnerable at that point in our polity. It is true that our strength and vigor in other directions offset our defect in this, but the demand is all the more imperative that we remove every obstruction that may hinder our advancement.

It has been a matter of rejoicing that our Church has done more for fraternity than any other. We find it is easier for Methodists, when occasion demands it, to go into other orthodox bodies, and become members or ministers, than it is for others to come to us. We felicitate ourselves on that fact.

We find, also, that there is an easy transition from us that is not so complimentary. Members can go from us into other Churches and have a voice in their affairs; but one coming to us must forever learn to "keep silence," unless he is fortunately elevated to official membership.

The demand for this fundamental recognition of suffrage is more imperative with us than with any other. Our connective polity calls for a united and operative Church from its very foundations. The hand should reach up as well as down. Those who administer the laws should be able to say, We have received them from the hands of the ministry and laity. The answer must not be made bearing a fictitious value. The intelligence of our people is such that they can discern at once whether they have participated or not in the deliberations or in the making of our ecclesiastical polity. All our environments are forcing the issue upon us. Our civil government dictates to us, with its authority of example, the individual rights of the governed. Other denominations are about us making an issue on this point.

Some have gone to the other extreme, and have lost the unity and power that should be found in Church government. These abuses can be avoided without the necessity of an experiment. They are ever before us. The extreme on the other side is no representation at all [as found in the Roman Catholic Church].

There must be a happy mean, and to that we should gladly turn. Our membership want a recognition somehow in the Quarterly Conference; sufficient to secure a "right of way," or

a title to co-operation in Church affairs. It might either be in person, or by delegates chosen by them to represent their interests. From that point concessions are already made to reach the General Conference. The three classes of officers named above, namely, stewards, trustees, and a Sunday-school board, would give a voice in every department of the home work.

The duties of the first two classes of officers are well defined in the Discipline of the Church. The Sunday-school board, as constituted, has very objectionable features. Its members come into place without a voice from the Church, save as the Quarterly Conference has given its approval of the committee appointed, and the law of the Church has given a certain number the *name* of Sunday-school board. The Sunday-school has become a very important part of Church work, and the question has been raised, "What shall we do with the Sunday-school as an institution?" The agitation has not come any too soon. In some places the whole school participate in the election of officers; others confine the right of choice to the more advanced classes, irrespective of Church membership; and others follow the law of the Church. The latter is by far the better method, yet there is the very serious charge against it that has been referred to in the constitution of the Quarterly Conference. It is not representative, and it has the power to perpetuate itself in defiance of the wishes of the membership of the Church. It is not often that the abuse of this power is felt, yet it is not wisdom to provide for the occasion. The members of the Sunday-school board ought to be elected by the membership of the Church, and they should be chosen to do a delegated work, namely, to elect officers for the Sunday-school. There could be no complaint that it lacked representation. The Church should be the only party authorized to speak in this matter. Whenever the Church loses the power to direct the instruction of the children, then we are adrift, and the Sunday-school, as an "institution," is in the hands of the irresponsible.

It will be readily seen what the writer would be expected to say concerning the Quarterly Conference. It ought to be for the entire membership of the local church. To this body reports of officers and its committees could be presented for approval or disapproval. In this way the business of the

Church would be before the whole body, and these delegated members would go out to do their several duties with the authority of those who sent them.

At the fourth quarter, or annual meeting, the election of stewards and Sunday-school board, and of trustees when they are not appointed under the provisions of civil law, could be held; not on the nomination of the pastor, but by the vote of legitimate members of the Church of a prescribed age.

There would, doubtless, be committees for assigned work, and these could be left to the nomination of the pastor and the approval of the annual meeting. The appointment of class-leaders and licensing of exhorters and local preachers are well provided for in the law of the Church.

Once in four years, at the fourth Quarterly Conference, there would be the election of delegates by the entire membership as representatives to the Lay Electoral Conference. The pathway from the most humble member to the highest authority of the Church would thus be complete.

The denomination that will hold our doctrines and the essential peculiarities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the same time foster the confidence that should be maintained in a loyal membership, will be the Church of the future and of the masses. We should desire to have our people say in a familiar way, "This is Our Church;" not simply the local organization, but Methodism at large. We will not succeed in this until we give some practical education. The membership must be framed into the organic structure, and then they can say with some assurance and dignified fortitude, We helped to make this ecclesiastical body which we call Our Church. It is worth while to study the demands of our times, instead of relying entirely upon the wisdom and thinking of our ancestors. If they had done as many would have us do there would have been no Methodism. The coming generations will want to know whether we were worthy to be the successors of the founders of our Church, and able to meet the emergencies that were upon us.

ART. IV.—THOUGHTS ON THE ATONEMENT.

IN the early Church, we are told, there was not much controversy concerning the relation of Christ's death to the salvation of the world. The great question of metaphysical and theological discussion was the Person of Christ; the atonement was neither scientifically apprehended nor developed. During the ante-Nicene age the counsel of the world's redemption was not darkened by words without knowledge. The Church rested with a sublime faith on the simple fundamental truth that the sufferings and death of Christ were essential to the forgiveness of sin. Its teaching was the undistorted reflection of the plain utterances of the New Testament. The teaching of Paul, who represents the judicial and rectoral view, and that of John, who represents the love and moral influence view of the atonement, were fairly reproduced by the writers of the second century. Then the speculative spirit fastened itself on the leaders of theological thought; a spirit that produced such theories as have made it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the average mind to ascertain with tolerable exactness the teaching of the Bible concerning the necessity, nature, and benefits of the atonement.

Most certainly, the atoning work of Christ is shrouded in mystery. Its perplexities baffle the skill of the acutest intellects. It has depths that lie beyond the fathoming of the profoundest minds, heights that soar above the loftiest finite thought. The *heart* can best understand the atonement, for the reason that it is larger than the intellect. The atonement is a many-sided truth, and the heart seizes it as a *whole*, while the intellect lays hold of single points. This fact mainly explains why men possessing depth and breadth of thought have produced such distorted, repugnant, and incomplete theories of the atonement; theories that have led vast numbers to instinctively reject it altogether, or to so modify them as to eliminate therefrom the element that imparts the atoning character to the sufferings and death of Christ. It is sometimes difficult to determine which class has injured most the cause of Christ—those who have openly opposed it, or those who, by perverting and misrepresenting its foundational truths, have made it offen-

sive to enlightened reason, and repulsive to the best instincts of the human heart. One of the reasons why the world has been cursed with so many repulsive and conflicting theories of Christ's atoning work is, men have put forth herculean efforts to so interpret the Bible as to make it support their own cherished theory. They have tried to *compress* infinite thought, love, and suffering into their little, logical, theological, and philosophical propositions. This seemingly laudable, scholarly, but unwise attempt is largely responsible for many of the difficulties now connected with the atonement. Some are the results of careful, candid, deep, and comprehensive thought; others—and by far the most—are products of a cold, rationalizing literature. We should discriminate, however, between the difficulties involved in Christ's atoning work and those which are the results of speculative thought concerning that work.

Looking at the present *status* of theological thought concerning God, man, sin and its results, and redemption through Christ, we recognize two extremes: one which says that God is all love, therefore does not need to be propitiated, and that sin is simply a trifle, an imperfection, a resultant of finite conditions and powers, to be remedied by intellectual evolutionary processes, hence does not demand any blood atonement; the other maintains that sin is so exceeding sinful that its penalty—*pain for pain, death for death*—must be, and was, endured by the divine Christ, in order to make salvation from sin and its penalty possible; that is to say, Christ must pay the debt, mill for mill, that man has contracted against divine justice, and when once paid, that is the last of it. Justice has no further demands, the debt cannot be collected a second time, it is on Christ, the sinner goes forever free. Of course, the logic of this theory depends on whether Christ died for a part or for the whole of the human race. If for a part, *that part must inevitably be saved*; if for the whole, then the whole is *absolutely sure of salvation*, as all conditions are excluded; besides, justice cannot exact payment twice for one debt. The palpable and inevitable conclusion of the first is simon-pure Calvinism, and the only logical conclusion of the latter is Universalism. If, then, Christ thus died for a part of the human race, that part may exultingly exclaim, "Therefore hath he mercy

on whom he will have mercy," and *we* are the "elect according to the good pleasure of his will." But, on the other hand, if Jesus, by tasting death for every man, paid every man's debt, then *every* descendant of Adam can joyfully sing the misleading little ditty, "Jesus paid it all, paid it all for me."

But this theory, denominated the commercial theory of the atonement, is not only full of difficulties, but contains absurdities and contradictions. It makes Christ, whose life was sinless, both a debtor and sinner, as he is said to have so identified himself with those for whom he died as "to be counted as sinful," and punished for those sins; things that were psychologically and morally impossible. Now in these extreme theories are involved most of the difficulties connected with the atonement.

Let us look first at the extreme theory which tells us that God, being love, possesses no attribute that needs to be propitiated. That "God is love," in the deepest depths of his infinite nature, attributes, activities, and moral government, is a subject that challenges our admiration, profoundest thought, and affection. But does this life principle of the universe—this primal cause of all that is—this essence of the divine nature—this deepest feeling of the Infinite—exclude every principle and feeling that demands a propitiation for man's sin? How can that be? Does not the love of God express not only deep and matchless feeling for a world of lost sinners, but also the universal rectitude of his nature and character? It cements into grandest harmony all the perfections of his being. God is one. In him there can be no conflicting tendencies, movements, or claims. Justice and mercy, as they exist in God, were never at war, and never can be. God is at one with himself; and this unity of his nature and attributes is the unity of his goodness. His mercy and justice, therefore, can never move on separate lines or seek to accomplish opposite tasks. Both move and act together, and for precisely the same object. God never acts on the ground of pure sovereignty, but on the ground of righteousness. Things are not done by him as products of his arbitrary will, but of his righteous will. His love enthrones justice in the defense of truth and right. Justice and judgment are the foundations of his moral government. Justice, then, is love under another name, when acting

in the domain of retribution. Love is the "pure white light" of God's righteous character, "analyzed as it falls upon human life, throwing against the sky of our view the upper and nether rainbows of the Gospel and the Law, of rewards and punishments." It is in this love we may find the hottest fires of retribution. When man sinned love did not command justice to vacate the throne, but insisted upon a rigid and immediate enforcement of righteous law; and for the reason that a God of love—not blind sentiment, but holy love—must be a righteous God, and a righteous God must condemn and punish sin. Love must "condemn as well as approve, curse as well as bless, and make a hell as well as a heaven."

On these momentous questions we are not left to mere guessings, as we may read this twofold manifestation of love both on the pages of history and the Bible. We know absolutely nothing of God but what his works and word reveal, and these tell of justice as well as mercy, of severity as well as love. Professor Tyndall speaks of an inscrutable Power, at once terrible and beneficent, that is to be propitiated by knowledge and action—action shaped and illuminated by knowledge. Who cannot see that nature has in it more than sunshine, zephyrs, calm, beauty, and beneficence? Science, no doubt, reveals to us the workings of a beneficent law, but it also reveals terrific disintegrating, and destructive forces. John Stuart Mill says, "Nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature's every-day performances." But, of itself, nature does nothing. It is the Omnipotent Will that speaks beneficently and severely through the operations of nature. So he does in man's moral being, in the Bible, and in history. The world is full of wretched victims of physical, mental, and moral retribution; a fact that has no explanation unless there is a sternly severe element in God that he has expressed in his dealings with the human family. The God of love is also a consuming fire. He can and does create in human souls a hell as well as a heaven. Epicurus said, "The world is imperfect, presenting nothing but scenes of misery." Homer makes Jupiter exclaim, "There is nothing more wretched than man!" And a greater than these tells us, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain." Nature, history, and the Bible unite in proclaiming the

existence of a severe element in the Creator, Ruler, and Redeemer of man. *And it is this severe element that constitutes an impassable barrier in the way of a sinner's forgiveness without an atonement.* It must be propitiated, or the salvation of a sinful race cannot be righteously accomplished.

What is the verdict of consciousness on this point? Joseph Cook says: "When a man has willfully violated the radiant moral law it is instinctive, if the eyes are kept open to its light, to feel that something ought to be done to bring about satisfactory relations between the rebellious spirit and the Author of that ineffably resplendent moral enactment." These words of light and strength express a deep and universal feeling—a feeling that reveals what God has implanted in man's moral nature. Consciousness of guilt, of danger, of ill-desert, of the necessity of doing something to restore the soul to its normal state and relations to God, is a resultant of God's action in the realm of conscience. From the beginning of man's sinful history he has instinctively felt moved to make some reparation to an offended God, so as to regain his lost approval. This is the ineradicable feeling that underlies all the sacrifices in pagan lands. But the pagan world has never felt satisfaction with its sacrifices. Its innate sense of justice, which lies back of its consciousness of ill-desert and the necessity for an atonement, has led it to make its costliest sacrifices, but it has not found in them permanent satisfaction and peace. The logic of this universal experience is, that there is One who is in our sinful race but not of it, who is displeased with its sins, and who will not be satisfied with mere reform or human methods of salvation, but imperatively demands an atonement that possesses infinite value.

A shallow liberalism may dogmatically affirm that because God is love he needs not to be propitiated; but God's revelation of himself, as read in the deeply rooted instincts of the race for thousands of years, stamps the affirmation as false. Those instincts confirm the plain statements of the Bible on this question. God's love is holy love; not a mere sentiment or sympathy that prompts a father to forgive his child without an atonement, but the love of a righteous Ruler who upholds righteous law and government. What a father may safely do in his private domain is one thing; what a ruler may do in his

official capacity is another and entirely different thing. A righteous ruler vindicates law and maintains government. Whatever of pity for violators of law he may possess, he punishes them because he loves truth, right, and justice. So the God of love, who is full of compassion for sinners, is "righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." Righteousness is the fundamental and immutable law of divine action, whether it burns a city, drowns a world, or saves a sinner. God can no more pardon a sinner unrighteously than he can drown a world unrighteously. In the fathomless depths of his infinite personality there exists eternally a sense of righteous indignation against both what the sinner *is* and *does*, and that feeling has never allowed him to forgive sin in the absence of an atonement. Such an act would be a contradiction of his nature, a trespass on his infinite sense of right. This fact may explain why Christ is represented as "*the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*" The atonement was not afterthought of God, no device to meet a sudden and unexpected emergency, but an essential part of the creative plan. When, therefore, Christ became incarnate to execute part of this plan, by making the forgiveness of sin possible, he was no intruder, but came to express an eternal, immutable, axiomatic truth; namely, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." In this great axiomatic truth—this eternal and immutable law of the moral universe—we have a revelation of God's moral nature; and also of man's moral nature, which is the image of the divine. Now, it is in these natures that we may find the primal and most imperative demand for an atonement. If we interpret them correctly, we may get rid of some of the difficulties connected with Christ's atoning work. We may see why that work was needed before sinful man and a holy God could be reconciled. God's love of law, truth, and right demanded it. Man's consciousness of guilt, ill-desert, and divine displeasure demanded it. Man, in all ages, has never felt prepared to go into the presence of a holy God clothed in his own merits. In him, as well as in God, there is a law of righteousness that imperatively demands an atonement. There is, then, nothing arbitrary back of Christ's atoning sufferings and death. They are the natural expression of God's love of truth and righteousness, as well as his love for a world of

sinners. Dr. Bushnell bases the necessity for the atonement exclusively on moral grounds, Dr. Miley mainly on governmental grounds. To us it seems as if these great thinkers had omitted the most important part of the foundation; namely, the palpable facts of God's and man's moral nature. The governmental necessity for the atonement is simply an expression of what was in God before he embodied it in legislative enactments and penalties. The only difference between what is in God's interior nature and his promulgated laws and penalties is, that what is in him is infinite, what he has expressed is of necessity finite, as finite forms cannot fully express infinite truths. God has reserved more righteous indignation against sin, and more love for the sinner, than he has expressed in both Law and Gospel. When God puts his thought, feeling, and power into forms he necessarily acts under limitations; a fact that makes it not only difficult, but impossible, for finite beings to fully comprehend his words and works. No wonder, therefore, that the atonement has its difficulties, when we remember that it expresses infinite thought, love, hatred, and holiness! In the God-man we have the most perfect revelation of all the perfections of the nature of the Infinite, and yet, as they were expressed in finite forms, we cannot see them fully.

Socrates, who saw not the revelation of God in Christ, could not see how God could forgive sin. "Plato, Plato," he exclaimed, as he one day saw the turpitude and demerit of sin, "perhaps God can forgive deliberate sin; but I do not see how." Socrates had a glimpse of what he and the world of sinners had often felt: the necessity for a divine atonement. They felt that God could not, consistently with the law of righteousness, forgive sin without some satisfaction being made to the resplendent majesty and eternal authority of violated moral law. This is no "judicial notion imported into theology," but an essential part of righteous moral government. A pardon, simple and abstract, would belie and dishonor God, as he must maintain the rectitude of moral government—a thing that he cannot do if he forgive sin in the absence of a "blood atonement."

And now comes another difficulty. Christ's atoning work, in the estimation of some, involves an act of base injustice. We are asked what we should think of a ruler who pardoned

a great criminal, and exonerated him from punishment, on account of an innocent person's voluntarily suffering the penalty due the criminal. We might answer that no one ever heard, or ever will hear, of such a case. "For scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die;" but for a *criminal*, who ever heard of a sane innocent person offering voluntarily to die? No righteous ruler ever compelled an innocent subject to die for the guilty. Certainly God never did. Whatever the great Atoner did he did of his *own free will*. He had power to lay down his life; no man could take it from him. His atoning sufferings and death were voluntary. "But"—and here is what some regard as an insuperable difficulty—"why was it necessary that a spotless and sinless being should suffer and die for a sinful world?" The answer is, Because in no other way could the sinful world be saved. If Christ had not been both divine and human, and sinless, his sufferings and death could not have been substituted for the guilty. The guilty cannot atone for the guilty. But is it not manifest injustice to inflict the penalty due to the guilty on a sinless Victim, even if the Victim is willing? Most assuredly it is, but it cannot be called injustice for one being to suffer in behalf of or instead of another.

At this point correct statement and discrimination are needed. Joseph Cook says: "The ghastliest of all misconceptions is the assertion that the doctrine of the atonement implies, first, that an innocent being is made guilty in the sense of being personally blameworthy; and, secondly, that an innocent being is *punished* in the sense of suffering pain for ill-desert." Yet a distinguished writer, some years ago, wrote in our *Quarterly Review* that "Christ was counted as sinful and punished for us." But Christ never sinned, therefore could not, in the very nature of the case, ever become conscious of guilt or ill-desert. Having never sinned, how could he be "counted as sinful, and punished for us?" Is not this a gross distortion of the teaching of the Bible on this foundational truth of Christianity? And is it not as horrible as it is unphilosophical? Personal guilt and ill-desert cannot be transferred from one individual to another. Like consciousness of guilt, they are not transferable. The acute and logical Martineau rejected the idea of vicarious atonement, because the statements of its distinguished advo-

ates involved the difficult and absurd idea of the sinless Christ suffering for sinners the *penalty* of pain and death, as if he were adjudged a sinner. Martineau did not learn this abhorrent idea from the Bible, but from the conclusions of theorists, which they based on parabolic, figurative, and isolated portions of the Bible. The debtor in the parable given by Christ must suffer unless some one pays his debts; but this is a very crude illustration of the doctrine of the atonement, and becomes perilously untrue and unscriptural when its details are literally interpreted. Christ intended to show simply *how* God forgives sin; that is, he *freely* forgives the sinner, as he is an absolute moral pauper. But, we might ask, what is there to forgive, if the whole of the debt is paid by Christ? Right here is found a difficulty. If Joseph owes his brother Benjamin one thousand dollars, and he being so poor that he cannot pay one cent of the debt the generosity of his brother Reuben is so excited that he pays the whole debt for him, where can Benjamin's forgiveness of the debt come in? Justice says, He needs no forgiveness. It would, therefore, be absurd for Joseph to pray, "Brother Benjamin, forgive my debt." And it would be equally absurd for Benjamin to respond, "In view of the fact that brother Reuben has paid the whole of your debt, I freely forgive you." So we affirm that if Christ literally paid sinful man's debt against divine justice, "tooth for tooth," pain for pain, death for death, there can be nothing left that requires forgiveness.

The debt conception of sin and the atonement, if taught in the Bible, is manifestly a figure designed to represent a deeper truth. And yet this is the conception that pervades Joseph Cook's illustration of Bronson Alcott's school, which is intended to relieve the atonement of the difficulty in question. The great lecturer says, that the master of the Concord school made it a rule "that the pupil who violated its regulations should inflict chastisement on the master as a substitute for his own punishment, in order to maintain the authority of the school." Of course, the chastisement was voluntarily accepted and endured, and the unique method of sustaining the majesty of the law and maintaining governmental authority was crowned with success. It also showed that bad human hearts can be changed and rebellious wills subdued by

others submitting voluntarily to suffer chastisement for *their* deserved punishment. It removed, too, the liability of the pupil to be punished by the master, as the master paid the pupil's debt by substituting for his punishment his own chastisement. But is this Concord school example of substitutional suffering an apposite illustration of the vicarious sufferings of Christ for sinful man? We think not. In the first place, *love* for sinful man is the originating power that lies back of all that Christ said and did for him; secondly, it was the Father, not the sinner, who inflicted stroke for stroke, that most bruised and chastised his son. "It pleased the LORD to bruise him." Bronson Alcott received from the offending pupil the same kind and number of strokes that should have been inflicted on the pupil had it been the principle of the school to punish evil doers. This was not true with regard to Christ, as it was impossible for him to suffer the same kind and measure of punishment due the sinner. Then, in the last place, a pupil with a refined and sensitive nature would suffer much more mentally than his substitute could suffer physically, which was not the case with Christ and sinners. As Mr. Alcott puts it, "One of the boys shed tears and passed through a struggle such as made him seem to be in a baptism of fire." Then what that boy suffered in after years no one can tell. A consciousness of what he did to that master would not give him much peace. How different the result of Christ's atoning work! His substitutional sufferings, being an expression of his holy love, give peace and joy and hope to believing sinners. If these friendly criticisms are correct, the Concord school-master's substitutional sufferings do not throw much light on this difficult phase of the atonement. Nor do we see how any example can, as Christ's atoning work is unique. It has never had, and never can have, in its most essential facts, an exact parallel. The Loerian king who, to maintain governmental authority, caused one of his own eyes to be put out to save one of the condemned eyes of his guilty son, is a striking, and in some respects a pertinent, illustration; but as it represents the "tooth for tooth and eye for eye" theory, it fails in the most essential point.

It fails to illustrate how a truthful, righteous God, after having annexed a certain—and we may add enforced—penalty to violated moral law, can consistently accept as a substitute for

that penalty the sufferings of the sinless Christ. At this point we find the main difficulty. We do know that God has thus accepted the sufferings of Christ, therefore it must be wise and right; but just *how* he can thus release man from a natural and deserved penalty and restore him to life, purity, honor, and immortality, is a difficulty we cannot explain. Not that we have any objection to a divine incarnation, suffering, and death; we have not. And for this reason the great law of sacrifice is the universal and immutable law of the universe. Parents, patriots, and philanthropists suffer vicariously, and often die for others. Life lives on death, therefore Christ's voluntary sacrifice of himself for a guilty race is but the grand culmination of this principle, the divinest expression of an all-pervading, dominant law in the realms of life. As finite forms of life are under the law of sacrifice, we see no valid reason why infinite life, prompted by infinite love, and for highest purposes of law and government, as well as to make possible the salvation of a race of lost, responsible, immortal beings, should not surrender himself to his own law of sacrifice. This he has done. "The life was manifested" in the infinite Christ. He expressed the eternal Father's infinite thought, love, and righteousness by a life of vicarious work and suffering.

Notice, Christ's work, suffering, and death in no sense *changed* God's thoughts and feelings toward sin and sinners; but they *did* satisfy God, satisfy himself, and satisfy man. They satisfied the sense of justice inherent in the divine and human conscience. As soon as Christ had, by his atoning life and death, fulfilled and honored the law, and established righteousness on a firm foundation, the atonement was made and the sense of justice in God and man was satisfied. God accepted Christ's atoning suffering and death as a *substitute for the enduring of the death penalty by guilty, hell-deserving sinners*. Why he has done this is not revealed; and *how* they constitute, in his estimation, a sufficient atonement for the sins of the world is still among the "secret things that belong" not to us. If we will but discriminate between *suffering vicariously* and being *punished penally* we shall obviate a great difficulty in our discussions of the atonement, as an innocent being cannot justly be punished for the guilty, but there is no principle of justice that forbids the innocent voluntarily suffer-

ing to save the guilty. Men do this as the highest expression of their love for their friends, or to maintain the life and unity of their nation. By what law, then, shall God be excluded from such an expression of his love? Men may sneer and be captious, and ridicule the atonement as betraying on the divine side a thirst for blood, but the reverent and devout mind will see in the agony and bloody sweat of Gethsemane, and the sufferings and death of the cross, resultants of an eternal Father's love for sinners, truth, and righteousness.

In the atonement we may behold the eternal Father and Son struggling, not to harmonize conflicting attributes, but to save man from the grasp of violated law and insulted justice; a work that could not be done without suffering and death. *Could* not, we affirm, as infinite love of right was as inexorable as infinite justice. Love for sinners cannot act apart from love of right and justice. They dwell and act together in the most perfect harmony. Love can do nothing until law is honored and righteousness is lifted into supremacy. Infinite love, therefore, gladly satisfied itself and justice by suffering, dying, and rising again to save sinners. This vicarious work of infinite love is in perfect harmony with justice, and instead of involving cruelty, it is the sublimest possible expression of divine benevolence. The atonement, then, is the grandest embodiment and satisfaction of both love and justice.

What is needed to lead men to see that the atonement is the grand, central, life-and-peace-giving truth of Christianity, is a candid, careful grouping of all the facts it involves; then an honest, prayerful effort to find out their meaning by comparing fact with fact; then submission to the fixed conditions on which its benefits can be realized. If its opposers would wisely do those things they would soon find out that this doctrine is no priestly invention or "butcher theory," designed to meet an unlooked-for contingency in the historic development of humanity, but an essential factor in the creative plan. And a clear vision of this fundamental truth would reveal to them that Christ was no forced victim of his Father's wrath; that he came not into our race to fulfill a bargain that he made with his Father, to pay his life as a ransom price for a few elect ones, but to manifest his Father's love, purpose, and righteousness, which he had revealed in man's moral nature, history, and

the Bible. He could say in the garden of Gethsemane and on the cross, "I am showing the Father's unutterable love for lost sinners; the consuming fire of his wrath against sin; and his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God." Here are deep, grand, and awfully sublime revelations! Nature trembles in their presence, the sun is darkened, the gates of death are violently opened, and the smiles of the eternal Father are withdrawn from the Son of his love. The Christ suffers alone, of the people none are with him! What mean those unique sufferings and death? There is but one explanation: "It pleased the Father to bruise him," by putting on him, because of his voluntary assumption of the position of the sinner's substitute, the penalty due to the iniquity of the world. The sword of his Father's wrath against sin pierced his soul, and caused him to feel as if he were forsaken by him. Of course, the forsaking of Christ in those last hours of fearful agony by his Father was only apparent, not real. Such a thing was impossible, as he and the Father were indissolubly one; but so dense was the dark cloud of suffering that rested on and penetrated his soul that he realized no sensible tokens of his Father's love. Never was the Father so near to his Son as in that last fearful agony, but his love could not write itself on a consciousness that was enduring a baptism of fire; and thus voluntarily tasting death, he drank the cup given him by his Father to its very dregs, and while doing it he had the sympathy, love, and support of his eternal Father.

Most assuredly, an atonement that is a resultant of such agony and blood has its difficulties—*must* have its difficulties—but they are difficulties shrouded in love. "Herein was the love of God manifested, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." His love expressed itself in divine suffering and blood, hence it represents an atonement of infinite value; one that satisfies both God and man. Bad men and shallow men may call it a "blood theology"—never mind; it saves souls from sin, death, and hell, and in doing this necessary and divine work it demonstrates to the thought and Christian consciousness of the world that it rests upon impregnable foundations.

ART. V.—BISHOP MCKENDREE—A SKETCH.*

WILLIAM MCKENDREE was a Virginian, and was born in King William County, 1757. He came from the best circle of Virginia planters. His parents were in easy worldly circumstances, though plain and industrious people. They were members of the Church of England, and brought up their children carefully in the tenets of the Church. In common with many others of the same class of people, they joined the Methodist Society on its first establishment in Virginia.

While McKendree was a child Whitefield visited the city of Williamsburg, near which his father lived, and there is little doubt that it was owing to his earnest ministry that Mr. John McKendree, father of the bishop, in after time joined the Methodists. William was a boy of seventeen when Mr. Shadford and Robert Williams visited the section of country in which he lived. He joined the Society, but by his fondness for gayety was led back to the world. He took part in the Revolution, and was an adjutant in a Virginia regiment. The war ended, and he returned to his home. Here he led the easy life of a country gentleman. He was very moral, free from all gross vices, and, while irreligious, was not at all skeptical.

John Easter was at that time a flaming evangelist, and came through the country in which McKendree lived. McKendree was at the house of a friend, drinking wine and reading a comedy. The wife of his host and companion went to hear Easter preach. McKendree heard from her the story of Easter's wonderful power. He went to hear him himself, and was profoundly awakened and deeply convicted, and after a little while soundly converted. He writes:

Not long after I had confidence in my acceptance with God, Mr. Gibson preached us a sermon on sanctification, and I felt its

* William McKendree, the First American Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By GEORGE G. SMITH, of the Georgia Conference.

PAINE'S *Life of McKendree*.

STEVENS'S *History of Methodism*.

BANGS'S *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*.

REDFORD'S *Methodism in Kentucky*.

Life of James O. Andrew, etc.

MCTYEIRE'S *History of Methodism*.

weight. When Mr. Easter came he enforced the same doctrine. This led me more minutely to examine the emotions of my heart. I found remaining corruption, embraced the doctrine of sanctification, and diligently sought the blessing it holds forth. In its pursuit my soul grew in grace, and in the faith that overcomes the world; but there was an aching void which made me cry,

" 'Tis worse than death my God to love,
And not my God alone."

One morning I walked into the field, and while I was musing, such an overwhelming power of the Divine Being overshadowed me as I had never experienced before. Unable to stand, I sank to the ground, more than filled with transport: my cup ran over, and I shouted aloud. Had it not been for a new set of painful exercises which now came over me I might have rejoiced evermore; but my heart was enlarged, and I saw more clearly than ever before the danger of an unconverted state.

This is as definitely as he ever professed the blessing of sanctification.

He now began to work to save souls, and Mr. Asbury sent him, in 1788, to a circuit. For four years he traveled circuits in Virginia, and considerable success attended his labors. He was closely associated with James O'Kelly, and sympathized with him in his opposition to an unrestrained episcopate; and when O'Kelly failed to secure the right of appeal for a dissatisfied preacher, and withdrew from the Church, McKendree went with him. After a very short time he became satisfied that he was wrong, and returned to the Connection. He was an older man than most of his compeers, and perhaps a more judicious one, and Asbury soon fixed upon him as an assistant Bishop, and he was made presiding elder of a very large district in Virginia. He was there when the mind of Francis Poythress gave way. Asbury, while on his way to Kentucky, heard Poythress was deranged. He said to McKendree: "William, I want you to take charge of the Western District." "When do you wish me to start?" "As soon as you can." "In an hour, sir, I will be with you." In less than an hour the bishop and the young elder were on their way to the far West.

The boundaries of the Western District in 1800 were immense. From the west of North Carolina they extended to the center of Ohio, and from the Blue Ridge Mountains in south-west Virginia to the Mississippi River. To make the

tour McKendree began his journey near Asheville, N. C., went eastward and northward, till he crossed the mountains into Tazewell, Virginia; then west, through Cumberland Gap; thence to Nashville and beyond; then up Salt River, through the blue-grass counties of Kentucky, to the Miami, in Ohio. The district was cut down every year, but the advance of the lines of settlement made it necessary to extend the lines still farther west; so that in 1807, when McKendree left the district, it included, in addition to Kentucky and Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. When it is remembered that much of this country was but twenty years old—that the settlements were remote from each other and separated by rugged mountains or trackless prairies—we can gather an idea of McKendree's heroic labors. He had also other difficulties of a very perplexing nature to encounter, coming from another direction.

The great awakening which began at a union meeting in the Barrens of Kentucky in 1799, out of which camp-meetings sprang, was just beginning when McKendree reached the West. It swept with wonderful power. There was a breaking away from all the old traditions. Presbyterians preached a present, full, and free salvation for all men; Baptists joined with Methodists; camp meetings were every-where; all kinds of lay work was encouraged, and there was no restraint imposed. There was prodigious excitement. The jerks, the dancing exercise, the barking exercise, the trance, the heavenly vision—every thing that was wild and extravagant was found, and by many encouraged. Zion's ship was in dangerous seas, but McKendree was eminently fitted for the work of steering it safely. He did not, like the Old School Presbyterians, denounce all emotion and excitement; he did not, like many, give free rein to it. He quietly, calmly, firmly, controlled it, as far as he could safely do so; and while from the Presbyterian element the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed—while the disaffected Baptists went, after some years, to Alexander Campbell—while Quakers and Unitarians reaped their harvest—McKendree's counsels saved Methodism. The critical condition of things in the far West had kept him at the wheel, and two sessions of the General Conference, as the General Convention was called, had been held, and he had been at neither. He resolved now to go to Baltimore. At this Con-

ference, 1808, it was in design to provide for the assembling of a delegated General Conference, and to elect a bishop who should relieve Asbury of some part of his onerous labors.

McKendree was comparatively a stranger to the Conference, and had not been mentioned in connection with the office. On the Sunday before the election he was appointed to preach in old Light Street Church. The house was crowded. The preachers were many of them present. McKendree had liberty, and the result of that sermon was a determination of his hearers to elect him bishop. This the Conference did the next day. McKendree was one of the committee who suggested the restrictive rules, and his knowledge of what the General Convention intended when it provided for a General Conference of delegates stood him in good place in after time.

As soon as McKendree began to preside over the Conferences he made some very decided and important changes. He introduced the custom of consultation with the presiding elders in a body before the appointments were made. He introduced the plan of conducting Conferences by parliamentary usage. Asbury did not like these innovations. He could not see that Methodism wanted any thing but more holiness and more simplicity. It required some delicate tact on McKendree's part to reconcile Asbury to these changes.

McKendree did not desire to be bishop, but without voice of his own he had been called to the office in a most important and difficult time. Asbury was old and feeble. He had been virtually the sole superintendent. The work now reached from Maine to the Mississippi and beyond, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. McKendree was over fifty years old, and, while a vigorous man, the immense labors of the years before had told upon him. Over all the area he was to travel on horseback or in a chaise. He did the work as faithfully as he could, and, giving up his life to labor for the Church, conscious that his eye was single, he looked with distrust upon that growing party of the Church who seemed anxious to limit episcopal power. This it proposed to do by the election of presiding elders. McKendree's great opposition, and that of Asbury, was overcome after George and Roberts, who had been elected bishops in 1816, favored the change; and in 1820 the General Conference decided on the long-sought provision. McKen-

dree and Soule and Roszell held that this was an act beyond its power; that it was expressly restricted from doing this and kindred things, and that until the Annual Conferences had spoken on this subject the law could not be operative. A conflict between the bishops and the General Conference seemed unavoidable, but the General Conference decided to defer the execution of the law for four years, and thus the issue was not made. At the General Conference of 1824 McKendree was given permission to travel at will, or rest, as he thought best, but he continued his untiring labors. In 1824 the General Conference left the act of four years before in a state of suspension, and in 1828 it was quietly repealed. Bishop McKendree was now quite feeble, and the remaining six years of his life were years of great suffering. In 1832 he made his last visit to the East. Young Robert Paine, afterward bishop in the Church, South, accompanied him, and with great difficulty the long weary tour over the mountains in a private carriage was made to Philadelphia, where the General Conference assembled. He could barely walk, but leaning on his staff he tottered into the Conference room. The preachers rose to receive him. He said with a voice faltering with emotion, "Let all things be done without strife or vainglory, and try to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; my brethren and children, love one another." Then, spreading forth his trembling hands and raising his eyes to heaven, he pronounced in faltering and affectionate accents the apostolic benediction, and left the room to return to it no more.

For the remaining two years of his life the good old bishop labored as he was able. He was seventy-five years old when he bade farewell to the General Conference, and seventy-seven when he died.

He had never married. From the day he began his ministry he had never shrunk from a hardship nor shunned a danger. Perhaps no man in Methodism, for so long a time, ever had so many and such continuous privations. Until he was made a bishop he was always on a frontier; afterward he knew no repose. Asbury, sick and feeble, sometimes groaned under his burden, but McKendree bore his without a word.

He was a man of strong will, and could strike a hard blow, but he was never harsh or irritable. When sick and weary he

was simply taciturn. He was a man of remarkably fine presence. His features were regular and handsome, his brow as broad and smooth and white as marble. Dignity and gentleness were strikingly evident in his manner. He dressed with great neatness, in the old-time garb of a Methodist preacher.

He was a preacher of great power, but this arose from no one striking quality. He was earnest, scriptural, and full of unction. As a Church statesman, he stood high among his compeers. He was more conservative than his old Virginia associate, Jesse Lee, and more jealous of any interference with episcopal authority; but he was more moderate in his views of what that power should be than was Wesley, or Coke, or Asbury. He was eminently judicious in his administration. His piety was very fervent, but evidently in his later life it was very calm and quiet.

McKendree is, next to Asbury, the most important factor in early Methodist history, and as far as the government of the Church is concerned holds a more important place than even he. The rule which guided his life he gave to Bishop Andrew, who had just been elected bishop. "James," he said, "shrink from no responsibility which properly belongs to you; remember that he who shrinks from a responsibility properly his own, incurs the most fearful of responsibilities."

ART. VI.—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

IN the last sentence of the third verse of the sixteenth chapter of his gospel as recorded by Matthew, our Lord Jesus Christ couches one of the most wide-reaching and important thoughts that perhaps he ever uttered to man: "Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

The persons to whom these words were originally addressed were a very fair type of myriads upon myriads of the human family of to-day. They would accept very flimsy evidence upon which to base an assurance of results which they strongly desired to foresee, and which they wished should occur. Many wise and learned ones can weigh the planets and measure their distances from the glittering center of the vast solar system;

but to many of these learned ones the story of the "Star of Bethlehem," the "bright and morning star," is a mystery or a myth. They can trace the paths of the stars and indicate the changes of the weather from the hues of a few flitting clouds; but they cannot discern "the signs of the times." The theme that is couched under this short sentence from our blessed Saviour's lips, based, as it is, upon the greatest event connected with man's history since the fall, ought to be to every intelligent human being a most fruitful, highly elevating, instructive, and intensely interesting thought. As it refers directly to our Lord Jesus Christ in his relation of divine humanity, it is richly fraught with temporal and eternal interests for the human family from the fall to the general judgment. There certainly can be no theme of more real, deep, and abiding interest presented for man's contemplation than that which gives forth such statements as these: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor." Again: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." Once more from the Old Testament upon this point: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." But how is this wonderful chain of relationship taken up in the New Testament? Let us see: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." Again: "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."

These are a few of the many passages from Holy Writ which set forth most clearly the divinely originated and very intimate relationship subsisting between God and man. This relationship is the basal rock upon which the theme presented by the title of this article was laid by its divine Author. This great fact of divine relationship the unbelieving Jews refused to

recognize in the person of the humble prophet of Nazareth. The very existence of this fact unbelievers of many nations are laboring to-day to disprove, and are practically blind to all the signs of the times that have been in the past, and that are to-day in all lands, calling alike the attention of the skeptic and the careless one; and though also challenging the attention and application of Christian thought and faith, are often passed by without awaking in his mind a single idea of their true import. We are led, therefore, to the apprehension that possibly some are even committing a fatal error by giving no thought or time to the careful study of this wonderful theme.

The implication that was to be drawn from the language of the Master on that occasion was, that the signs of the times were, that the promised Messiah of the patriarchs, of Moses and the prophets, was then already come, and that he who was at that moment in conversation with them was indeed that "anointed One;" and he even rebuked them for their unwonted ignorance. For multiplied ages the world had been looking for and expecting his coming. The hoary nations of the Orient were in some way conscious that the great and mysterious *I Am* had planned a visit and manifestation of himself to the human world, in some peculiar character of man that had not hitherto been witnessed. It is not for us to know to-day certainly by what means the magi on Iran's plateau, a thousand miles away from Bethlehem, were enabled to discern the sign presented to them, and know thereby that he was born who was to be King of the Jews. Nor by what means, about sixty years after, the followers of Confucius were so strongly impressed with the fact of his *having* come, as the "Great Saint in the West," that they "sent their envoys to hail the expected Redeemer."

But it *is* for us to know something, not only of the time and signs of his coming, but especially to discern the signs of the times in which we are living, setting forth the one supreme fact that we are living in the midst of the age of man's transforming period, in which the great "Prophet of Nazareth" is gradually gathering the nations of the earth under the banner of the cross. Let us therefore, in the further investigation of this subject, examine as we may some of these tokens, and apply them for our own information and profit.

There are some passages of Scripture that, to say the very least, *seem* wholly unexplainable when considered independently of the New Testament dispensation. For example, to begin with Psalm ii, 8, 9: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Possibly there has never been a period when this prophetic history has been in process of more rapid fulfillment than the present. We venture the suggestion, that it is highly probable that a vast deal of that which we are wont to look upon in the social and political world to-day as among the great evils—and even though in themselves considered, in an abstract sense, they *are* great evils—may nevertheless be more properly classed among the signs of the times pointing to the one great fact that there is a mysteriously divine Force, like a hidden heaven, operating through all the great political and social regime of the human world, and the ultimate meaning of which is as far from being properly construed by the masses of the people as were the life and works of our Lord Jesus Christ when he dwelt among men in the flesh. God is working through human agencies, and he uses them often as he finds them.

Another passage that seems clearly to present God's hand in history, even though men should be writing it in blood, may be quoted from Isaiah concerning Cyrus: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; . . . I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me." In this connection we should bear in mind the fact that these words, uttered concerning a pagan monarch and soldier, were recorded probably two hundred years before the birth of Cyrus. The depravity of the human heart is so deep, and of such long standing in supremacy, that to bring about God's ends in man in any other way than by the slow processes of human revolutions would be to utterly destroy that freedom of the human will with which we were endowed when we were made free moral agents.

If, by a proper conception of the fact of God's agencies in man working through man as he finds him, we apply the teachings of Christ in the use of such language as the following, we may more readily understand him when he speaks thus:

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

With this view of the position and relation that God, who was manifest in the flesh, sustains to the plans and operation of them which man projects, we may proceed with some tolerable degree of intelligence to inquire, What are the signs of the times in which we live, and what do they indicate? We assume, from Matt. xvi, 1-4, that the signs of the times there referred to, and in which we are most profoundly interested, refer to the relations of Christ in his true character as the God-man; as that character, as laid down in the Old and New Testaments, sustains to the whole human race. If we study carefully such additional passages of Scripture as seem confirmatory of those already cited, our position is strengthened by such passages as Rom. xiii, 1-4 and 1 Tim. ii, 2, showing conclusively that these relations touch very definitely the political connections of the race. Then turning to Matt. v, 42 and vi, 1-5, 12, we find the fact very clearly demonstrated that this connection touches strongly upon our social and commercial relations. For its bearing upon our domestic relations see Matt. v, 27, 28, also 31, 32; chap. xix, 3-6; Rom. vii, 2; 1 Cor. vii, 3. Other passages might be adduced, but for the sake of space we forbear. Of course, it would be worse than a *waste* of these to attempt to illustrate the already admitted demonstration of this relation to man's spiritual well-being. With this broad platform, then, upon which to place ourselves, we may properly proceed with what we may justly pray may prove a profitable investigation. Of course the passages referred to above, upon each point, are not a tithe of what might be cited, but are considered sufficient for the purpose. With reference to the first point referred to, namely, the politics of the nations, we have no doubt that man's infidelity upon this subject has been a fruitful source of great national troubles that might often have been either wholly avoided or greatly minified. The legislation by which many vices and crimes against God and humanity have been legalized has, on more than one occasion, proved a Cleopatra's viper upon the sin-

darkened bosom of national governments, whose poison-pointed fangs have sent the chill of death coursing through the life-currents of the nations. The rifled tombs of the hoary empires of the East bear unequivocal testimony to this fact. Four millions of human beings suddenly released from a servile bondage, and turned loose upon the nation of their former masters, whose crime had caused the shedding of rivers of Anglo-Saxon blood, furnish a demonstration of the truth of the point under consideration that the American people will not soon forget. Well, indeed, would it be for the nations of the earth if, by the signs of the times constantly spreading out before them, they could discern the hand of God in history. The voice of oppressed humanity is calling upon God, and the ear that is open to "the young ravens when they cry," is never closed against the voice of the oppressed. "I tell you he will avenge them speedily." Man may boast of the wisdom of this or that plan, or the good or bad policy of this or that movement, but God, who sees not as man sees, will work out vengeance upon the oppressor sooner or later.

The granite foundations of the throne of the British empire, upon whose vast domain "the sun never sets," are trembling to-day, and it may be to a more speedy overthrow, notwithstanding the exalted character of its present noble occupant, than its most sanguine foes anticipate. Forcing at the point of her bayonets the accursed opium-trade upon a broad, populous nation of intelligent pagans—flooding the benighted and down-trodden tribes of Africa with fiery gin, because she needs the revenue of these channels of commerce and has the military power to enforce them—are classes of political crime that God Almighty will not always wink at. It is not *utterly improbable* that the wail of homeless mothers and the cries of out-cast children echoing among the tenantless cabins of old Erin are heard at the Court of the Universe. The low, hoarse rumblings, that by British ears are perhaps but faintly heard along the horizon of the political sky of their wide domain, *may* be the sound of the marshaling of God's unseen host, hastening to avenge.

The fact that the religious faith of a people may be largely papal, or even pagan, furnishes no ground for civilized and refined oppression. Legalized oppression, either by state or

nation, God Almighty will avenge. Coffers of gold wrung out of human blood will sink the government that retains them. Again, there is a religious attachment to the political phase of this great question that we may not with propriety overlook. Jesus Christ was himself the mighty "Rock of Ages" upon which the old State Church system that had emanated from the older system of patriarchal family churches was destined to go to pieces.

That this position is the true one may be affirmed from Christ's own teachings, a few examples of which will be adduced as illustrations: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Again: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. . . . And whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Again: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." One more: "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink."

These may serve as illustrations of the fact that the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ is to be a voluntary assembly. A purely voluntary following did he require as a condition of citizenship in his kingdom. Hence we find that through all the ages of the Church's history corruption of morals and deadness of spirituality have invariably followed in the wake of State-Churchism. The seeds of moral decay and spiritual death were thickly strewn even before the great Constantine had been carried to his tomb. From the throne of the Roman pontiffs flowed, for a thousand years, through the veins and arteries of the universal Church, a moral blood-poison that so tainted with moral and spiritual decline every part of the great system that the Lord of the whole earth found it necessary every now and then to raise up some such man as Wycliffe, Huss, Calvin, Knox, and Luther, to meet, and in some measure counteract, these poisonous and deadly influences. These were stern, heroic men of God, like the Elijahs, Elishas, Johns, and the apostolic Fathers of the olden time. They

aroused men to a sense of their own moral ruin, and, like those old men of God, they also brought upon themselves strong persecution. The very fact that in the midst of deadly persecution, God, with perhaps one exception, preserved the lives of these great reformers and devoted leaders of his cause, was a demonstration that his hand was with them, and a sign of the times in which they lived that their enemies, to their own hurt, failed to discern.

So, in later times, God found it necessary, in order to the preservation of his cause, from time to time to work purifications in the Church through the various agencies of what were termed dissenters; though these were often called to endure persecutions most severe, and, in turn, themselves sometimes persecuted others. New Testament Phariseeism and modern State-Churchism, when critically compared, seem to be very near of kin. Out of the influence of the former, largely grew the dreadful scenes and agonies of Pilate's court and Calvary's brow; out of the influence and exertions of the latter have emanated many of the destructive wars that have from time to time deluged much of our world with human blood. Some further illustrations of these two points are found in the final overthrow of the Jewish nation and capital, followed by the Crusades, the Thirty Years' War, and the Huguenot wars of France. The surging billows of to-day, moral and political, not to say religious, are stirring, and will continue to stir, the nations of the earth to their core. The commotions that in this jubilee year are shaking the very throne of the "Empress of the Indies;" the deep volcanic rumblings that are sullenly muttering beneath the very footsteps of the arrogant "Autocrat of all the Russias;" the dark war-clouds that are constantly hovering along the banks of the majestic Rhine and its beautiful tributaries, are signs of the times that are not to be lightly passed unheeded. The blood of "righteous Abel" from his gory couch never appealed to God for vengeance in more audible accents than do the deep-toned wailings of the deeply wronged and oppressed millions of that "Old World," writhing under the iron heel of financial, social, political, and in many cases religious, tyranny. God is always upon the side of right, no matter where might may seem to be arrayed for the time being. Our own dear country had a sad

realization of that fact a few years ago, when he arrayed the mighty Anglo-Saxons against each other that the oppressed African might go free.

When, in March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel planted the throne and standard of united Italy within the palaces of the "eternal city," the power of popery received a blow from which it will never recover. From that date the "States of the Church" were only a fact of past history. When, in January, 1871, the capitulation papers to a foreign and intensely hated foe were signed at Paris, the people of France were henceforth enabled to breathe a freer air than had before surrounded them for the past three hundred years. The mace of the "man of blood and iron" may to-day mark out the course of German suffragists, but great William's successor will probably have less faith in the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" than is at present required to fill the standard of that venerable monarch's measure. If God ever designed the plan of monarchical government, he has certainly, under the Christian dispensation, permitted the demonstration to be made that the plan was not absolutely the only one under which the most sacred rights of mankind are always most carefully cherished.

So, also, David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley have demonstrated in this nineteenth century, as did William Penn two hundred years ago, that it is wiser, cheaper, and infinitely better to arrange and conduct plans of national commerce upon the basis of Christian civilization and Christian equity than at the mouth of cannon or the bayonet's point. The voice of the Christian world inquiring in vain for the hidden grave of "Chinese Gordon" is a sign of the times in which we live, declaring that the cross may not to-day more successfully overthrow the power of the crescent by the power of the sword than in the days of the old crusades.

The world-wide success of Protestant Christianity as demonstrated by the international Christian institutions, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Evangelical Alliance, the Sunday-school lesson system, and, in some sense, the great Bible societies of England and America, presents a sign of the times which demonstrates beyond possible contradiction the great fact that the Bible is the real *magna charta* of international commerce for the world. Upon its broad principles

of equity are based the only safeguards of continued success. If we are told that Great Britain realizes far larger commercial profits from the East as the result of her great political and military prowess than she would otherwise be likely to do, we answer that statement with this one unanswerable question; namely, At what value of blood and treasure, invested as her capital in that far-off land? As we come to the domestic relations of life, we hear, or seem to hear, the voice of an unseen one crying out, "Watchman, what of the night?" we cast our eye alone the horizon of Christian civilization, and with bated breath we listen for the answer. It comes. Hear it, ye scoffers at God's eternal truth! "The morning cometh, and also the night." The morning light of God's divine grace is shining into the domestic circles of the human world, widening its home blessings daily more and more, and settling the eternal night of banishment upon the old tyranny of that barbarism which unequalized husband and wife, mother and son, brother and sister, in all the social and domestic relations of life. It has burst the shackles of heathen child-widowhood, which for long cycles of ages in heathen lands bound the female child who, without her own consent, had been wedded to a male child who subsequently might die even in childhood, to a perpetual widowhood. Through this influence in its touches of the domestic relations, the sight of the writhing, blistering flesh of a living woman chained to the body of her dead husband, that had been stretched upon the funeral pyre to be consumed in the cremating flame, has become a fact only of past history. Such revolting scenes no more greet the gaze of humanity. The power of the cross and the restfulness of the tomb, through our Lord Jesus Christ, are opening up to these benighted minds a far better way. Baby widows, destined because of their widowhood to spend a life-time in seclusion from the human world, will shortly be a fact known only to the annals of the past. The shrieks of innocent babes cast into the fiery arms of brazen gods or the reeking jaws of the death-dealing crocodile by superstitious pagan mothers no longer pierce the air of India's sunny land. The advancing principles of our holy Christianity are rapidly dissolving the shackles that have bound womanhood, more or less, in all ages and in all lands. Through these blessed influences is she now rapidly

advancing to the place by the side of man that she seems to have occupied before the fall.

Here again, then, are signs of the times speaking in tones of admonition to all who would oppose the elevation of womanhood to a higher and nobler plane than, outside of Christianity, she has ever occupied since the fall.

Thus have we seen that the signs of the times are, and have been, illustrating the intimate relations that subsist through our Lord Jesus Christ between God and man, along the various lines of political, commercial, social, and domestic relations of life. Let us now take a brief view along the directly religious horizon.

We turn to the eloquent lines of grand old Isaiah, and read : "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater : so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth : it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." Is this blessed truth in its broadest possible application being fulfilled? Are the nations of the earth being brought under its influence?

This second question only needs to be presented to an intelligent public to set forth its own answer in a most emphatic affirmative. Every continent on the globe echoes a broad affirmative. Christ, by Matthew's pen, declares, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." These words, too, are of broad signification. Even though the term law might be narrowed down, the care for the jots and tittles demonstrates the fact that the entire Scriptures are to be included as the necessary exponents of the law.

The vast archæological investigations that are being constantly pushed in our own day, amid the tombs of the buried nations of the long, long ago, are continually producing fresh confirmations of the earliest facts of Bible history, and the later fulfillments of biblical prophecy, as they were recorded of old by "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The long-hidden, and possibly by many nations, long-forgotten graves of old Chaldea and far-away

Assyria, that are, in this evening of the nineteenth century, being, with many others of lesser note, thoroughly ransacked and plundered of their long-hidden treasures of historical records of the past of long ago, are producing evidence from the oldest pagan stand-points of the entire correctness of what we call biblical history. We will not here consume time and space in illustrating this point. Any of the late works (and their name is legion) of the multitude of archæological writers will fully demonstrate what has just been said upon this point.

Let us now note a passage or two from the New Testament, with their bearings upon this question, and then we shall have done. The angelic messenger sent to Bethlehem's shepherds said, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." We ask, Wherefore the joy to *all* people? Hear the answer of the angelic choir, "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men." But are these predictions being fulfilled? Will the facts of political and religious history justify the assumption that they are? "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Surely William Taylor and his heroic followers, in conjunction with other missionary workers who are pushing without military escort into the very heart of the "dark continent," bearing only the white banner of Calvary, and without opposition are planting missions from one coast to the other of that benighted land, are a demonstration of the above stated fact.

What mean the actions of the nations of the earth toward each other to-day? See the vast military hosts of Europe, better drilled, better equipped, and larger in numbers perhaps than at any period of the past. See how, in many instances, they have been scowling upon each other for months, and yet, by some unseen force, have been restrained. All those nations seem willing, and even anxious, to settle all differences by arbitration of a different sort from that of the sword. Are those vast armies great hosts of physical cowards, or are their leaders and rulers slaves to fear? Nay, verily! The Gospel's "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men" is working like a hidden leaven among the nations, and answers the question. The international postal and telegraphic systems of the world, that are to-day in active existence among

the nations of the earth, are ominous signs of the times, pointing the nearing of that day when the nations of the earth shall flow unto the mountain of the Lord's house. "Doomed" is written upon the false religions of the earth. Science and philosophy are no longer arrayed, as they were once supposed to be, against God's revealed truth. Slowly, but surely, are the deserts being made to blossom as the rose. Swords are being displaced by plowshares, and spears are being superseded by pruning-hooks.

ART. VII.—GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.*

"PRINCIPAL DAWSON," as he is best known, is now sixty-seven years old. When only twenty-one he distinguished himself by his masterly geological survey of Nova Scotia, under the direction of Sir Charles Lyell. When only thirty-five he was made principal of McGill College, which, under his administration, has grown to be an influential university. During those thirty-two years (a very long presidency!) Dr. Dawson has become known throughout the learned world as a most able scientist, and throughout the world of Christian learning as one of the very ablest of the scientific defenders of orthodox biblical views as to the supernatural origin of man and nature. The demand for this new and enlarged "ninth edition" of his *Earth and Man* (which first appeared in 1873), attests the enduring value of this work. It has now grown to over four hundred pages, and an abler, yet more popularly intelligible and useful work, in its field, probably does not exist.

One of the landmarks of the intellectual progress of the modern Christian world is the change of view in regard to the science of geology. Eyed askance by many, fifty years ago, as an enemy and a delusion, it now stands recognized as one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, one of the most valuable side-lights upon the history of man and of the world, and

* *The Story of the Earth and Man*. By Sir J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal; Author of *Origin of the World*, etc. New Edition, with Corrections and Additions. 12mo, pp. xi, 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

on the interpretation of revelation. Geology is, indeed, the sum of all natural sciences. It must be founded on mineralogy and chemistry: but it must also call in botany and microscopy to explain fossil plants, and of zoology and anatomy to expound fossil animals. It must even call on mathematics to compute its cosmic forces, and on astronomy, to unfold the secular changes in climates by changes in the polarity of the earth and by its orbital conjunctions with its planetary neighbors. In its vast march of dateless eras it does for the student's conception of *time* just what astronomy does for his conception of *space*; that is, it practically infinitizes it. The value of geology, therefore, as an instrument of mental discipline, can hardly be overestimated.

But it is not as a school text-book, nor as a work of original investigation for the learned specialist, that this book was written and still has its mission. Its design is, in part, to popularize the science of geology, and in part to confute that "materialistic infidelity" (p. 7) and those "scientific banditti" (p. 312) who have attempted to acquire notoriety by turning a noble and truthful science into a field for rash and unscientific anti-Christian speculation.

In the treatment of the earth's origin the author leans to a modified acceptance of the nebular hypothesis of La Place, a vortex of fire-mist gases, then a spherical, revolving molten ocean, then a cooling and crumpling crust, volcanoes, water, scalding chemical rains, disintegration and stratification, marine life, decarbonization of the atmosphere by the vast carboniferous vegetation, then mighty air-breathing amphibian saurians, then mighty mammals on land, then the glacial epochs to sweep away these monsters, pulverize the old continents into soil, bury the colossal vegetation in vast coal-pits, and so prepare the world for its coming monarch—man. All these geologic stages, so often treated, are well illustrated by geological "sections" and diagrams, and by cuts exhibiting the life of the ancient seas and continents, and coming down to the times of the great hairy mammoth of Siberia (another entire specimen of which, by the way, the last Russian exploring expedition has just found in the ice of the New Siberian Islands, where the Yakouts were feeding their dogs on its flesh, and whence they have sent the entire hide and skeleton to St. Petersburg), the mastodon, the

wholly rhinoceros, the cave-bear, the great Irish elk, the terrible machairodus, or saber-tusked tiger, and other recently extinct or still living species, among whose remains the first remains of man are found. There is room for all this in the first twenty-five verses of Genesis, as no modern scholar now doubts or denies.

And then comes the real pith of the book, the real bone of contention in all modern cosmic science; the *time and method of the advent of man on the earth*. There is a current story, of a somewhat apocryphal air, that when the manuscript of Dr. Alexander Winchell's very able and valuable, though very radical, *Pre-Adamites* was seeking its birth in print, one eminent publisher replied that he did not want the book because "the scientific people don't care any thing about Adam, and the Bible people don't care any thing about the pre-Adamites." The story is pat, though the result proved the conclusion false, as the book made a stir, and does yet. The fact is, that this is one of the most vital questions in all anthropology, and is going to stay such for some time to come.

As is well known, Mr. Dawson is one of the ablest champions of Creationism, especially as opposed to the Derivationism of Darwin, the Evolutionism of Spencer, and every other speculative and skeptical theory of man's origin. He shows the fallacy of imagining "miocene apes scourged into reason and humanity by the struggle for existence in the glacial period" (p. 281), and shows that even paleolithic man—the man of the oldest and rudest stone age—was substantially the man of to-day, with a cranial capacity and conquering energy utterly out of all comparison with the most powerful living or fossil gorillas or oranges.

As to the *time* of man's advent on the earth, it was in the post-glacial period, when nearly a hundred species of pleistocene mammals, several of them colossal, were his neighbors in Europe, many of them appearing at his own epoch, nearly sixty of which still survive. The distance of this post-glacial epoch from the present time is provable as not greater than from 6,000 to 10,000 years, most probably 7,000 to 8,000, which roughly harmonizes with Genesis, especially with the probable corrections to be made in biblical chronology. Nay, more, the ground for the biblical deluge appears in the great

geological subsidence by which Europe and western Asia were submerged for a brief period, and in which many species of colossal mammals, and also paleocosmic man (ancient-world man) among them, were swept away, in some instances vast collections of their remains being found buried in their common diluvial sepulchers. The man who followed this cataclysm became, in Europe, Africa, and America, the non-Aryan, but early-civilized Etruscan, the Iberian, Basque, Ugrian, Lapp, Berber, and Carib, and perhaps other races, the neolithic man (new-stone-age man), and bronze-age man, who was nearly but not quite exterminated from Europe by the first Aryan migration, the conquering Celt, and lingers in Europe now only in the Basque and Lapp, but abounds in the African Berber and Taurick.

This creature, man, appears suddenly on the earth, with no intermediate links connecting him with any other order of terrestrial creatures. He is a tool-maker and tool-user from the start. He has ideas, he domesticates animals, especially the dog. He makes pictures (as of the mammoth engraved on bone); he makes marks that seem to be language characters; and he has the idea of a Superior Being and of life after death, as a stone-age burial vault at the foot of the Pyrenees shows in its remains of funeral rites and tools and weapons for the dead. We may well ask, Has any body ever found a cemetery and the funeral rites of a community of apes, and food and implements for ape-souls to use in the spirit-land after death?

And, further, geology joins with ethnology, linguistics, and ethnic tradition in interpreting the biblical Eden as lying at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Shat-el-Arab now receives the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, and once received several more from the Persian plateau that are now absorbed in the sands before they reach the outlet. And here, for a thousand miles, the whole earth is a sepulcher of man and his cities and works, and was such before the annals of historic nations began.

The demand for new editions of this work is a healthful sign of reaction from the wild and frantic anti-Christian "science, falsely so-called," of the past twenty years. We confidently anticipate that the hammer of the geologist and the spade of the archaeologist will yet meet in peace at the prehistoric dawn of man's story on earth.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

FACTS AND TENDENCIES IN EUROPE.

IF the saying that "coming events cast their shadows before," be as true as it is trite, then the nations of Europe must be on the eve of great movements, which in their results will affect, for weal or woe, the liberty, the civilization, and the religious progress not of European nations only, but of the human race; for such is the intercommunication of the empires of the earth, the network of commercial interests which bind the races of men together, and such the ambitions of strong powers to control weak ones, that mankind as never before is practically one body. A hurt or benefit to one member must injure or benefit the whole.

What the foreshadowed events will be—which nation Providence is about to pull down, and which to set up—are questions not certainly within the range of human foresight. But their shadow is as visible to the eye of every intelligent observer as that of the earth on the face of an eclipsed moon. That shadow is a palpable fact, which Sir Charles W. Dilke, in a series of remarkable papers which first appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, on "The Present Position of European Politics," takes as the keynote of his uncommonly lucid and able articles. This fact, as portentous as it is palpable, is, "that the present position of the European world is one in which sheer force holds a larger place than it has held in modern times since the fall of Napoleon." As minor signs of this predominance of force, he points to recent events in Bulgaria, and to the colonizing mania which has lately possessed several great powers, notably Germany, France, and Italy; and which, with unblushing frankness, similar to that of Russia with respect to Central Asia, openly declares a desire and purpose to grab the lands of weaker races without regard to any higher principle than the false assertion that might makes right. But far more significant of this reign of force is the zeal of military preparation. In Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia, armies, navies, and munitions of war as vast as the resources of each nation will permit are kept in readiness for service in the field. Evidently the war spirit is abroad throughout Europe, and nations are kept standing on the tiptoe of expectation, wondering, with more or less of dread, over which people the angel of war will be commissioned to first spread his black wings and begin the deadly conflict. As after the fall of Napoleon, when force, represented in the "Holy Alliance," held Continental Europe in a grip of iron, so now, as never since, force holds her nationalities like hounds in leash ready to leap, but so uncertain of each other's intentions and real aims as to prevent either from taking the dreaded initiative. But that all this fore-

cast of impending war is a sign of "the coming of the Son of man" to judge those nations, and to prepare the peoples for the further development of his kingdom, few Christian students of history will seriously question. Are not the hearts of kings "in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water?" Doth he not turn them "whithersoever he will?"

The greatest fact in Europe to-day is the German Empire. And its most impressive, if not its greatest, personality, is Prince Bismarck. After the revolutions of 1848, which exploded the Holy Alliance, an astute observer said: "I sum up the last decade in the name of Metternich." Looking on the surface of the stirring events which have marked the creation and growth of the German Empire, one might with seeming propriety now say—I sum up the last decade in the name of Bismarck. Not that Metternich and Bismarck can be justly ranked as equals either in character or statesmanship, since, unlike the former, the latter never mistook "intrigue for statesmanship." Nor has he gained his ends, as Metternich did, by a policy of inaction, but by one of bold action, which, but for his success, would be regarded as rashness. Yet as Metternich was the ruling spirit of that Alliance by which the kings sought to repress every aspiration of their peoples for constitutional liberty, so Bismarck stands before the world as the leader of the more stirring and violent movements by which Prussia, after first wresting from Austria her supremacy among the German States, succeeded in making herself first of the twenty-five German States by the union of which the present German Empire is constituted.

If statesmanship consists simply of clear perceptions of what one wishes to achieve, a practical judgment in the adaptation of means to a proposed end, and skill to direct the human instrumentalities necessary to its accomplishment, then Bismarck is no common statesman. The supremacy of Prussia, in such a confederation or league of numerous sovereign States as might fill the German idea of the Fatherland, was the conception which from almost the beginning of his public life he aimed to realize. To achieve his purpose he had to break the ancient prestige of Austria, to enlarge the territorial possessions of Prussia, to conquer the long-cherished prejudices of the minor German States against Prussia, and to create a constitution for his proposed empire which would appear to meet the growing demands of the German people for self-government, and yet concede such a measure of control to the little army of hereditary kings and princes, whose ancestors had been rooted for ages in the soil, as would win their consent to exchange their independent crowns and rights of royalty for such power, honor, and emolument as a great empire might secure to them. This great ideal Bismarck achieved in less than two decades. The empire of his creation holds its place to-day in the van of European nations. If such amazing success is proof of statesmanship, one cannot deny Bismarck's claim to a high rank among the foremost statesmen of the age.

But if justice be the fundamental principle of real, that is, of Christian statesmanship, the glory of Bismarck's achievement is exceeding dim. To make Prussia great, and to create a new Germany by none but righteous

measures, was not in his original purpose. He did not even profess respect for the rights of the princes or people whose territories he meant to annex to Prussia. Hence, with brutal frankness, he told the Duke of Grammont, Napoleon's minister, that, "*by fair means or foul*, Prussia was resolved to acquire the duchies (of Schleswig-Holstein), and the first place in Germany." Force, or, as he coarsely defined it, "blood and iron," directed by treacherous diplomacy, was avowedly his chosen weapon, which he wielded with ruthless disregard of national obligations and of honorable diplomacy. Trampling on the rights of Denmark as their suzerain, and on the legitimate heirs to the dukedoms, he with the aid of Austria annexed the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. By cunning duplicity, after using Austria as his tool in conquering those duchies, he first designedly alienated that power, and then inveigled her into a war which proved fatal to her supremacy in Germany on the bloody field of Sadowa. By still pursuing his chosen end, and still combining force with duplicity which scrupled at nothing that he believed necessary to success, this imperious man succeeded in annexing several German States to Prussia, and in organizing a North-German Confederation, in which Austria could have no place and Prussia was the chief power. When France, instigated by Grammont's folly, Napoleon's vain self-confidence, and Eugenie's jesuitically inspired desire to see her fling her strength upon the Protestants of Germany, forced the new Confederation into a great war, she found that the wary chancellor had not neglected to bring that Confederation into a high state of military preparation. And when the genius of Moltke had led his victorious legions from the Rhine to the Seine, Bismarck brought together the representatives of twenty-five German States in the palace of Versailles, where, on the 18th of January, 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed. Bismarck's strong arm, invincible will, and unscrupulous measures had triumphed. And on that proud day his imperial master raised him to the rank of prince. By that grand assemblage of princes and dignitaries Bismarck was honored as the man to whose genius the fact of the Empire was chiefly due.

But if there be any who fancy that Bismarck created this new empire without the essential co-operation and inspiration of his royal master, they have greatly misjudged both the character and genius of the Emperor William. The public has heard Bismarck's voice so often, has seen Bismarck's iron hand strike so effectually and frequently, has read so much of Bismarck's personal influence both in the Reichstag and in diplomatic conferences, that it has come to regard him as the Emperor's brain. Even some of the Emperor's admirers have designated him a "crowned sergeant-major." With broader knowledge of facts and sounder judgment of his real character, a writer in the *Spectator* (London), while justly denying him the "wonderful intelligence, various mental powers, and deep insight of the great Charlemagne, to whom many have unwisely compared him," yet claims that "in strength of character, as a whole, he is no unworthy rival to the great monarch of the middle ages." His greatness is seen less in his actions than in his self-suppression—in his unerring judgment of

the men he needed for the execution of the purpose which he had formed at the beginning of his reign—namely, to exalt Prussia and unite the Fatherland—and in his firm, unwavering support of Bismarck, Von Moltke, and Von Roon, in spite of the bitter hatred begotten in many by the first, and the military jealousies which the other two had to overcome in his armies. Moreover, Bismarck's great personality and executive prominence eclipsed the king, whose sayings, if he ever uttered any worth recording, never reached the public, who seldom made speeches, and who kept himself shrouded in the etiquette of his court. Throughout his career William has been content to appear not as the real leader of its startling events, but as a monarch indebted for his good fortune to men immeasurably greater than himself.

The writer in the *Spectator* corrects this false impression. He shows that though the reins of his government and the direction of his armies have been visibly in the hands of his subordinates, yet William has never ceased from the day of his accession to be the master of all around him. . . . There has never been a time when he has not been the ultimate political force—when he could not have dismissed any one, or when a policy directly contrary to his will could have been carried out." Even Bismarck could never bend him to his will by the force of his personality, but could only bring him to a decision by convincing his judgment. Hence this writer very justly concludes that a man who could govern such agents as he selected, who could keep quietly but persistently above such men as Prince Bismarck, Marshal Von Moltke, and General Von Roon, must have had in him much of the true kingly faculty—"rare force of will, rare fortitude of mind, and above all a most rare temperance of judgment."

One consequence of these flattering and probably correct views of William's strength of character is to make him morally responsible for the injustice, the duplicity, the tyranny, the occasional contempt of law, and the despotic spirit of Bismarck's administration. While it demonstrates his right to a large, if not to the principal share of the glory which glistens round the newborn German Empire, it also shadows his reputation with the blame of those immoral measures by which it was brought into existence, and which the honest historians of his reign will feel obliged to regard as the bar sinister in the imperial coat of arms.

Stability is the test of true statesmanship. It is the work which endures that demonstrates the wisdom, if not the greatness, of the designing mind. Napoleon constructed a vast empire which, not being founded on cohesive principles, but only on force directed by military genius, proved to be an Aladdin's palace. Will the German Empire, built so largely on force, share the fate of the Napoleonic Empire? is, therefore, an inquiry which, if not on the lips, is yet in the thoughts of many. The three men who created it must soon be numbered with the dead. Is their work likely to survive them?

When the new Empire annexed Alsace-Lorraine in presence of the known preference of their inhabitants for the continued rule of France, and of the obvious fact that France would certainly seize the first

favorable opportunity to recover her dominion over those provinces, it, as Von Moltke observed, "created the necessity to stand in arms for fifty years to defend the provinces which it had taken so short a time to win." This arming naturally led surrounding States to increase their military forces, and thus produced that reign of force in Europe already noted. Whether, therefore, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, however defensible it may have been under the law of conquest, was really good statesmanship looking to the future, or whether it introduced into the new Empire a peril to its permanence, are questions time only can positively determine. It certainly imposed a heavy pecuniary burden, not only on the people of the Empire, but also on those of the other States compelled by its example to increase their armies. It thereby made itself the instrument of that popular discontent which is the invariable result of impoverishing taxation, and it placed all Continental Europe in a condition of uncertainty with respect to the question of peace or war, so that to-day all its great powers "stand like gigantic gladiators" armed to the teeth, waiting, yet dreading, the hour of coming conflict.

The situation of the new Empire—in the heart of Europe, with no natural boundaries, and lying between three great powers, two of which are at least its military equals and the third far too strong to be despised—is such as to keep its leaders and people in a condition of anxious unrest. France is at open enmity with it. Russia scarcely conceals her disaffection. The Czar, alienated in feeling by its unfriendly attitude in the Berlin Conference and by its unwillingness to approve his more recent measures in Bulgaria, finds his irritation sustained by the increasing bitterness now common to the people of both nations. It is said to be an open secret that he proposed an alliance of some sort with France, which was only declined by the latter because her most conservative leaders did not feel that she was quite ready for the war which such an alliance would be sure to provoke. It is thought by many that the Czar is restrained from pressing such an offensive alliance, partly by his strong personal friendship for Emperor William and partly by his apprehension lest in that emergency Austria, Italy, and England might be induced to enter the arena in support of Germany. "Russia," says Mr. Dilke, "is very timid about facing a European agreement. . . . She very greatly fears an even less militant demonstration by the four powers." From such a stupendous war even the great Colossus of the North shrinks with more or less of dismay, as it well may, seeing that it is badly straitened in its finances and honeycombed with secret seditious societies seeking the life of its Czar and the overthrow of its despotic institutions. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a terrible conflict hangs like a mysterious and ill-omened cloud over the new Empire. And seeing that this overshadowing cloud is composed of the vapors exhaled from the forcible annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, but for which the Empire might have peacefully set itself to the development of its economic resources and to the cultivation of that national spirit which is essential to the consolidation and perpetuity of governments, especially of representative ones, one is

still inclined to ask, "Was the annexation of those territories a really statesmanlike measure?"

That Bismarck fears a possible alliance between France and Russia, and fully estimates the uncertainty of securing offensive alliances with Austria, Italy, and England, was apparent in his recent struggle with the Reichstag in behalf of the Septennate Bill. Knowing that the Empire might at any time need its full military strength in order to preserve its life, and confident that the mass of its people, aware of its external dangers, would endure a very heavy strain upon their civil rights without openly revolting, he not only brow-beat the Reichstag, but did the more daring and questionable deed of soliciting the pope to persuade the Catholic party in that body to give its support to his military bill. In doing this he necessarily gave great offense to the Protestant portion of the German people. But having faith that their loyalty would, under the pressure of external possibilities, bear even this heavy and humiliating strain, he went far enough in the road to Canossa to gain the Catholic vote in the Reichstag, and thereby secured the passage of the Septennate Bill.

In seeking the intervention of the pope, Bismarck was only following his established policy of resorting to any means, "fair or foul," which he deems necessary to the attainment of his ends. When, as in 1873, the pope was avowedly hostile to the unity of Germany, and sought to strike with an iron hand the bishops who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility, the resolute chancellor put strong restraints upon his authority over the German Catholic clergy by his famous "May Laws." When the exigencies of his home policy required the political support of the Center or Catholic party in the Reichstag, he solicited the aid of the pope, who now accepts the unity of Germany as an accomplished fact. For this assistance Bismarck, no doubt, bargained by promising important relaxations of the offensive May Laws in favor of papal authority. Herr Windhorst, the leader of the Center, with his adherents, obeyed the pope and voted for the Septennate Bill. That they did so in opposition to their political judgment seems evident from Windhorst's speech, in which, with biting irony, he said, "The pope is infallible, no doubt, but when he knows what we have to say he will see that he has made a mistake!"

Some phrases in the letters of Cardinal Jacobini, touching this affair, awakened suspicion in the minds of Italian statesmen that Bismarck had procured the pope's intervention by promising to do something looking to the restoration of the temporal power to the "Holy See." Italy, therefore, demanded an explanation, which Bismarck gave at once. The offensive phrases were explained away. They meant nothing. They were written, it was said, "during the illness of the pontifical secretary by an inexperienced hand." Italy was assured in the strongest terms that neither Germany nor Austria, under any circumstances, would regard "the position of the supreme pontiff as a matter calling for their interference." Doubtless Bismarck and European statesmen generally look upon "the temporal power as gone forever, without the slightest hope of its restoration by any means, and that King Humbert was justified in calling the Roman

settlement 'a conquest that cannot be touched.'" If the pope would accept this conclusion, Bismarck might indeed do him a valuable service by proposing some means by which the Vatican and the Quirinal might be at peace with each other. But Leo XIII. prefers posing as a sovereign prince unjustly deprived of his territorial rights to a quiet acceptance of the inevitable, and the peaceful exercise of the spiritual authority secured to him by the people of Italy.

It is difficult to comprehend by what process of thought Pope Leo can persuade himself that the temporal power of the Church can ever be recovered. He is said to be a well informed statesman and an industrious administrator. He is in constant communication with the corps of polished diplomats and astute statesmen who are in the thoroughly organized offices of the Vatican. These gentlemen are conversant with courts; they read the leading journals, not of Italy only, but of the world. They must therefore be well aware that no European power is at all likely to wage war upon united Italy for the purpose of restoring the States of the Church to the sway of the pope. They know, too, that most if not all the cardinals have no belief in the restoration of that power; that the kingdom of Italy has not the slightest intention to admit the sovereignty of the pope to any portion of the city of Rome; and that if it had, the people of Rome, including even the devout Catholic portion of its inhabitants, would strenuously resist it. Living, as the pope does, with such minds to inform him, and with these stubborn facts constantly forced upon his attention, it seems impossible that he can believe that he or any succeeding pope can ever recover the scepter which the popes of other days wielded with no credit to themselves, but with much evil to their immediate subjects, to the Italian States, and through them to other European nationalities. The well informed Mr. Dilke is of the opinion that Leo has no such belief. "Undoubtedly," he says, "the Vatican does not expect either from Italy or from abroad any concession of territory or of temporal power."

Why, then, does Leo still agitate this really dead claim? Probably for the same reason that he pretends to be a prisoner within the walls of the Vatican, when in fact he is as free to pass through the streets of Rome or to travel throughout Italy as he is to ramble in the gardens of his palace. To appear as a wrongly deposed sovereign prince, kept in captivity by the Italian government, invests him with an aspect of romantic mystery which impresses the imagination and moves the sympathies of the Catholic world. Of course, it is a deception. Yet it is kept up with jesuitical pertinacity, because it adds, at least for the present, to his influence, not in Rome nor in Italy, where the deception is too transparent to deceive, but in other nations. In Rome itself it is thought, at least by Protestant observers, to do him injury. In that city the mass of the people who are not free-thinkers, as most of the educated classes are, "can be moved as no other people is moved by gorgeous pageantry. . . . The pope inclosed within the Vatican walls to them is nothing; but a pope making a progress through the streets of Rome in his chariot of state, and attended by the noble guards,

is an embodiment of all they admire and revere. . . . It cannot be doubted that if the holy father had been permitted to make himself visible, each drive he took through the city would have been a triumphal progress. The king and queen would have been the first to pay him marks of reverence, and the spectacle of the popular rulers of united Italy yielding public homage to the successor of St. Peter would have had a result difficult to overestimate." This picture is probably overdrawn. Leo's priestly adherents would most likely be so imprudently demonstrative of their loyalty, so insultingly arrogant in their behavior, as to give offense to that considerable portion of the Roman people who hate the papacy with a perfect hatred, and counter demonstrations might have caused open strifes and have marred the effect sought. It may, therefore, be practical wisdom to forego the uncertain results of such public appearances in Rome for the sake of the influence gained abroad by the imaginary captivity of the supreme pontiff.

Mr. Dilke affirms that "the political influence of the Vatican has risen higher lately than the highest point at which it had stood since the Reformation." One may well hesitate to accept this statement, notwithstanding the breadth and general correctness of its author's information. The political situation in France, Belgium, and Italy is assuredly not such as the pope desires to see it. In Austria his influence is no more noticeable now than in past times. And when Sir Charles, in another place, says that "*the first great interference of the pope in modern times*" was his recent co-operation with the German Chancellor in favor of the Septennate Bill, he concedes that prior to this event the political influence of his holiness had not been a very weighty and recognized factor in European affairs. In truth, he relies mainly on this one fact to prove his assertion. Perhaps he regards it as foreshadowing the purpose of the Vatican to meddle henceforth in the politics of modern nations, by the vigorous exercise of its authority over its adherents whenever and wherever their numerical relations to existing political parties are such as to place the balance of power in their hands, provided they can be made to act as a unit under priestly dictation. But this is only discounting a very uncertain future. It fails to take account of the growth of the spirit of political independence in the people. Recent events in this country have revealed a disposition among Romanists to resent the interference of the pope in their political affairs. And it is unlikely that the voting Catholics of Europe, with their constantly increasing intelligence and sense of right to an independent use of the ballot, will yield with the submissiveness of mediæval ignorance to papal dictation.

The significance of the pope's successful interference in German politics diminishes when it is viewed in the light of all the circumstances by which it was surrounded. In soliciting it, Bismarck, with his habitual disregard of principle, viewed the pope as a convenient tool through whom he might accomplish his end. Knowing that the pressure of the so-called "May Laws" on the Catholic clergy, and through them on their people, was so severely felt as to make their modification desirable to the

Catholic party in the Reichstag, and fearing, possibly, that he might be forced to yield the ecclesiastical claims set up by the State, he was willing to promise their relaxation as the price of its vote for his military bill. But that party was jealously hostile to his measure. As citizens, they felt the seven years' control of the military it gave to the Emperor might be made dangerous to the liberties of the people. Bismarck could neither persuade nor dragoon them to vote for it. Then the chancellor turned to the pope, offering as the price of his influence with the Romanists of the Reichstag to modify the laws with which, in the past, he had restrained his holiness from the free exercise of his ecclesiastical authority over the Catholic clergy. Regardless of the fact that the measure was not in the interests of the people but of imperial power, and of the honest convictions of the Catholics in the Reichstag that it ought not to pass—refusing to see any thing but the recovery, at least in part, of his suspended authority—the pope put forth the required persuasion, perhaps gave his command. His adherents reluctantly submitted, laying their sense of duty to the State at his feet. The hated bill was passed. The May Laws were modified. The pope published a jubilant allocution. Bismarck, by his help, had strengthened imperialism, albeit in so doing he had inflicted a wound on the feelings of the Protestant subjects of his imperial master which, perchance, will be remembered when the Nemesis which treads on the heels of despotism arises to assist the friends of popular liberty in their contest for a government which shall be free, not in form only, but in both form and fact.

The despotic principle incorporated into the administration of the Empire by Bismarck, and openly avowed by the emperor in a royal rescript of January, 1882, can scarcely be regarded as good statesmanship, or as boding permanency to the Empire in view of the demands of the German people for a really constitutional government administered in harmony with its declared principles. In that rescript the Emperor said: "It is my will that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the Empire there may be no doubt left as to my own constitutional right, and that of my successors, to personally conduct the policy of my government." If these words have any meaning, they set up a monarchical theory which, logically applied, is subversive of the right of the people to determine the policy of its government through its legally elected representatives. That Bismarck and the kaiser so understood it was shown by their practical suppression of the freedom of the press by means of numerous prosecutions of editors who criticised the measures of the government for "libels of the sovereign or his ministers." Should the Emperor's successor insist on this view of his imperial right to personal government, is it not probable that some German Cromwell may sooner or later appear who will transform the Empire into a Republic? In nothing, perhaps, have both the kaiser and his chancellor shown their lack of wisdom and foresight so much as in their failure to recognize in the progressive spirit of the times that despotism in the government of intelligent people must be reckoned among the impossibilities of the future.

There are wide differences of opinion among thoughtful European observers respecting the permanency of the German Empire. Mr. Dilke predicts confidently that its existence will be prolonged indefinitely. He thinks there will be no war with surrounding nations to imperil its existence at present, notwithstanding the warlike attitude of them all. "France," he says, "is not going to attack Germany in a single-handed struggle. Germany is not going to attack France." Russia, as already stated, is held back by her apprehension of combinations too strong even for her colossal proportions. With respect to the consequences likely to follow the deaths of the emperor and the chancellor, which in the nature of things cannot be far-off events, he thinks that, as it was in Russia after the death of the second Alexander so it will be in Germany; things will go on after their death as they do now. He looks favorably on the capacity of the crown prince to govern, and sees in Count Herbert Bismarck, the son of the great chancellor, a man very much like his father. He describes him as "a strong and very decided person, knowing exactly what he means to do and exactly how he means to do it." Hence, as the policy of the crown prince must be to preserve the Empire he expects to inherit, and as he will probably find in Herbert Bismarck a man with much of the present chancellor's executive force, Mr. Dilke supposes that there will be little change in the policy and life of the Empire. How long it will continue thus he wisely forbears to predict.

These anticipations, viewed in the light of Mr. Dilke's presentation of existing facts, are assuredly very optimistic, if not somewhat contradictory. With respect to the probabilities of speedy war, they appear to sweep aside two important factors mentioned in his own papers; namely, the caprices of the Czar of Russia and of the French people; either of whom may at any time, and without the introduction of any really new factors into the question, suddenly light the dreaded torch of war. A fit of irritation, a sudden impression that Nihilism may be swept out of existence by the rushing tides of national feeling always begotten by a great foreign war, or an uncontrollable impulse of unreasoning passion, may determine the former at any moment to "let slip the dogs of war." As to the French people, no man can reckon on the direction their spirit of revenge, their desire to recover their former military prestige and their lost provinces, may take. As the inflammatory speeches of Grammont moved them to clamor for the opening of their unfortunate attack on Germany in 1870, so in spite of the counsels of their conservative men who, like Freycinet, fear "that even a successful war would upset the Republic," their present military idol, Boulanger, may so inflate their imaginations with visions of victory as to lead them either to compel their present ministry to obey their will or secure the creation of another. In its present state of mind the French nation is a powder magazine which may be exploded by even a chance spark. Seeing, therefore, that the action of Russia is dependent on the caprice of its sovereign, and of France on that of a proverbially capricious people, it is obviously impossible to reason with any confidence from the tendencies

of passing events to their conclusion. Humanly speaking, caprice is king of the situation; but then, in spite of caprice, "the Lord reigneth," and he can compel even the caprices of kings and peoples to bend to the accomplishment of his purposes.

With respect to the permanence of the German Empire a very different view from that of Mr. Dilke is taken by other well-informed observers. The foreign correspondent of a leading New York journal, for example, says: "The unification of Germany is not complete if its political unity exists. There are wide differences of opinion between the States of North and South Germany, which are bound together only by past success. Bismarck's work is not so solid as it looks to be, and failure in the next great military enterprise will be its ruin."

M. Taine, speaking of Bismarck's, and he might in this have included the Emperor William's passion for the supremacy of Prussia, says: "He underestimates the energy of the national spirit among the conquered, while he overestimates his own prestige at home and in his annexations, where he exaggerates the zeal and confidences of his new subjects." In this M. Taine is sustained by Professor Muller, in his *Political History of Recent Times*, who, writing of the vote both in the Bundesrath and Reichstag, in 1876, which located the imperial supreme court at Leipzig instead of Berlin, as desired by both Bismarck and the Emperor, says, "That the vote clearly showed that jealousy of Prussia was not confined to the governments of the individual States, but also shared by the people at large, and that it was an unfavorable omen for the speedy consolidation of the Empire just in so far as such consolidation signified an increase of Prussian ascendancy."

But it must be recollected that the supremacy of Prussia was and still is the cardinal point with both Bismarck and the emperor. With them it is not the Empire, but Prussia, that is first. They love the Empire chiefly because it adds to the glory of what Bismarck calls "My Prussia." That it is bad statesmanship, the offspring of narrowness of feeling in two otherwise great minds, to plant such a jealousy in a newly-created Empire needs no proof. That this jealousy will hereafter put the strength of German unity to the test cannot be doubted by any one who knows the strength and vitality of that bad passion. But whether it will, as many suppose, be the cause of contests amid which this modern Empire "will crumble to ruin," only "God, who sitteth on the circle of the heavens," can foresee.

D. W.

WHAT DOES HENRY GEORGE MEAN? WHAT IS SAID ON BOTH SIDES.

Any movement which involves a change in existing institutions, or which touches vested interests, is sure to meet with opposition. There is much misunderstanding of Henry George's notions, resulting partly from ignorance, but more largely from deliberate misrepresentation. Macaulay said that the doctrine of gravitation would not yet be received if it interfered with vested rights. Mr. George purposes to interfere, through the ballot, with a certain class of vested rights, and for this reason it is difficult to get a fair statement of what he means. We are of the opinion that many of his notions are visionary, and that his expectations of a millennium through land reform are in a degree utopian, and yet we would understand him. The George Party, as the new Labor Party is sometimes called, is an acknowledged power in politics. And that there are grounds for the unrest of the middle and lower classes in all Christian lands there can be no doubt. Mr. George at least proposes a remedy. Others say, "Let us go on as we are, only drink less whisky," which is excellent advice, but old and impotent. Let us then find out what this John the Baptist means.

It is common to hear Mr. George denounced as a Socialist or a Communist—one of those fire-brands who would divide up the wealth of the world, and destroy the property of the rich by giving it to the poor. The opinion of many even well-educated persons is, that he would destroy private ownership and control of land by a general act of confiscation, whereby all titles would be transferred to the government, and land would be held under the old system of tribal ownership. All these opinions are wrong. Mr. George is not a Socialist, and he declines to be classed with them or to co-operate with them. So far from dividing up and distributing property to the poor, he boasts that his system alone recognizes the sacred rights of property. From the doctrine that "property is a crime" he is separated *toto celo*. He would not even tax legitimate private property, much less confiscate it. Rightful ownership, he says, originates in personal toil. "The right of property springs from the manifest natural right of every individual to himself and to the benefit of his own exertions. This is the moral basis of property."—(*Property in Land*, p. 49.) A man has a right to himself, and to the products of his activity; and whatever property he accumulates by his toil is his by the best and only inalienable title. With such property a man may do what he pleases; and governments have a right to tax it only after having taxed to full rental value that form of property which was the gift of the Creator and not the result of human toil—namely, the land. Mr. George believes that tax on land should equal, or nearly equal, its rental value, always, however, excepting improvements (the improvements, being the product of labor, should never be taxed), and that all such tax income belongs of

right to the public, inasmuch as it is a value which was not produced by the owner, but by the progress of society.

A piece of unimproved land has a rental value only when two or more persons want it; and its value is the highest sum that the demand will enable its owner to get. It is a value, therefore, that has its origin in social needs and progress, and is what John Stuart Mill calls "the unearned increment." But all improvements, of what sort soever, as houses, fences, drainage, etc., being the product of labor, are sacred to him who produced them. The unimproved land, or, as we say, the naked earth, is the gift of God to mankind and belongs to all. In the House of Commons Mr. W. Saunders, when moving a resolution in favor of the direct taxation of ground rents, said that Herne Hill, an estate of 100 acres in London, had risen in value in twenty-five years by \$375,000. This increment was the result of the growth of London, and not of the labor of the owner. The land reformers ask us why a large part of that increment should not go, as a matter of pure equity, to the public? On the north end of Manhattan Island there is a point of land projecting into the Hudson. Although still as barren as when the Indians sold it for beads, it is of immense value, and its owners refuse to part with it. Being unimproved property, the taxes are relatively light. Mr. George asks his critics who gave the value to that rocky peninsula? Not the owners, for they have done nothing for it. It is not the product of labor, but the gift of God. The adjoining property has been improved and put to use, and as a consequence has been heavily taxed; but this unimproved peninsula, like the fabled dog in the manger, has done nothing for society, and has shifted its fair burden of taxation on to its neighbors. Where are we to look for the origin of the immense value which attaches to the peninsula? Evidently not to its owners, who have done nothing for it, but to the progress of society. It belongs to those who created it; namely, to society. Such is the theory and reasoning of Mr. George.

It is equally a misapprehension of Mr. George's scheme to suppose that he favors the old system of tribal ownership of land, or that all titles are to be vested in the State. He would not disturb titles. These are to remain as they are, and land would be bought and sold and leased under his system as at present. "We do not hold," he says, "that nations, any more than individuals, can get absolute ownership in land." Alfred Russell Wallace, the eminent scientist, is the president of the Land Nationalization Society of Great Britain, and the objects of that society are "to affirm that the State holds the land *in trust for each generation*; to restore to all their natural right to use and enjoy their native land; and to obtain for the nation the revenue derived from its land."

In his reply to the Duke of Argyle Mr. George said (*Property in Land*, p. 51): "I hold with Thomas Jefferson that 'the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, and that the dead have no power or right over it.' I hold that the land was not created for one generation to dispose of, but as a dwelling-place for all generations; that the men of the present are not

bound by any grants of land the men of the past may have made, and cannot grant away the rights of the men of the future."

The highest title in law to land in the United States is *tenancy* in fee simple. That title is subject to such taxation as the government shall deem right and necessary. The taxation may be increased to a point which would produce a revenue that would exempt all other property from tax. It may be made equal to the full rental value of the ground, and if the owner cries out against the injustice of so great a tax upon the land, the government may answer: "Your deed does not and cannot fix the amount of your tax—that is a matter in the discretion of the State; besides, the values which we collect in taxes on the land, irrespective of its improvements (which are not taxed), were not produced by your toil, but by the general industry and enterprise of the whole community. As matter of natural justice, and also of law, it belongs to the public."

In the *Standard* of July 2, 1887, Mr. George writes:

We propose to exempt from all taxation that species of property which is the result of human toil, and to put our taxes upon land values, irrespective of improvements. Were that done, the people who are now holding vacant land without using it would either have to use it or part with it to somebody who would.

All this is new to most people, but it is by no means new to those who have made a study of the social problems of mankind. In substance, it has been urged in various forms in all the great civilizations. The basis on which it is now urged is a Christian one; namely, that of natural justice and the brotherhood of man. The argument is simple. If man has a right to life, he has a right to the soil. As fish must have water so men must have land. Separate men from land and they die. Give all the land to a class, and the rest must become their dependents. The evils that lie in monopoly increase to the proportions of a crime when monopoly seizes land. Rack-rent and serfdom are, sooner or later, the consequences of monopoly in land. In a new country the evils are hid, but look at Ireland. Private ownership of land is monopoly of land, and is therefore contrary to natural justice and the brotherhood of man. Thirteen men are said to own half of Scotland. Suppose one of the thirteen should buy out the other twelve, then one man would, under the present system, have absolute control of half the kingdom, and could appropriate its lands to shooting preserves for himself and friends, while the poor were starving for bread. In former centuries the people of Scotland had access to the soil, but now the glens that once sent forth their thousand fighting men are tenanted by a couple of game-keepers. It is claimed by Mr. Arthur Arnold that nearly four fifths of the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, or 60,000,000 acres, are in the hands of about 7,000 persons. In the United States there are single farms of 100,000 acres.

But in point of fact, no civilization ever recognized absolute private ownership in land, and Mr. George does not propose a revolution, but rather a reform along recognized and established lines of progress. The

right of eminent domain, whereby the State appropriates with compensation lands for public uses, such as forts, parks, and roads, is the denial of absolute ownership. The law of the jubilee in the Mosaic legislation only permitted leases of land. All lands alienated from the family were returned at the end of fifty years. "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine." Lev. xxv, 23. The Land Acts recently passed by the English Parliament regulating the rents of the tenant farmers of certain parts of the empire are incompatible with the doctrine of private land ownership. The lands of Irish landlords have been practically seized by the British government in the interests of the tenants, and the entire American press, including the opponents of Mr. George, has applauded the seizure.

In 1870 a bill was passed by Parliament securing to Irish tenants all improvements they make on their farms. In 1881 a system of land courts was instituted to fix fair rents and secure fixity of tenure, and the owners are bound to put up with what the courts allot them or get nothing. A few days ago the present Tory government passed a bill still further reducing the rents and increasing the authority of the tenants. A Parnellite member of Parliament has said that this last land bill will bankrupt more than half the landlords of Ireland. It is hardly possible to-day for landowners to raise money on their landed property in Ireland. This may be all wrong, but there is an increasing number of people who sympathize with the saying of the Indian chief Black Hawk, "The Great Spirit has told me that land is not to be made property like other property. The earth is our mother."

Mr. George is by no means a pioneer on this question. John Stuart Mill (in his *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i., page 295), writes: "When the sacredness of property is talked of, it should always be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust. . . . It is a hardship to be born into the world and to find all nature's gifts previously engrossed and no place left for the new-comer."

Herbert Spencer holds similar views. "Equity does not permit," he says, "private property in land. For if one portion of the earth may justly become the property of an individual, then all the earth's surface may be so held. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it."

Before offering some criticisms of certain weak places in Mr. George's scheme, let us ascertain what benefits he expects to flow from it for the average man. One of the smaller of these benefits would be, that the large class of persons known as landlords, who now live from the toil of others, and are themselves non-producers, would be *liberated* to join the ranks of the world's workers. By this change the parasites would become producers. A more signal advantage would be the cheapening of land and of mining privileges. If unused lands and mines which are

now held for speculative purposes were taxed to their rental value they would be forced into the market. Speculation and "corners" in land would cease. Speculators could no longer hold them, at so high a rate of taxation, and it would be no longer difficult for a poor man to secure a lot for a house, or a piece of ground for a farm. No person could hold more land than he would put to profitable use. The vast areas of land in the West now held by corporations and syndicates for speculative purposes would be released. It is affirmed that more than 20,000,000 acres of Western and Southern lands are held by foreign capitalists. All such land-grabbers, whether citizens or foreigners, would have to relax their grip upon mother earth. Coal and the useful ores, which the Creator has stored away in the bowels of the earth in so great abundance for the service of man, would be released from the syndicates who now control them, and the price would be regulated by their quantity, and not by greed and selfishness. The coal combinations in Pennsylvania could no longer fix the amount of coal that should be put upon the market.

Another gain would be found in releasing toil from taxation. It is claimed by Mr. George that the land tax would be sufficient for all the needs of government, and as a consequence every toiler would be secured all the product of his labor. Industry would be liberated and production increased. The present system depresses industry by heavy taxes, as ship-building has been taxed out of existence in the United States; but a tax on land would not decrease the amount of land cultivated, so long as the tax did not exceed the rental value. When Mohammed Ali taxed date trees in Egypt the fellahs cut down the trees, but a heavier tax on land produced no such result. Unused land has at present an insignificant tax upon it, while an adjoining farm, on account of its improvements, is taxed heavily. This is putting a premium on non-production and taxing industry.

Another advantage would be, that the institution of land "booming" would come to an end, and all fictitious and inflated valuations would cease. When land values are crowded up to a point which will leave for capital and labor less than their accustomed returns, a disturbed and congested industrial condition will result; and just here Mr. George finds the primary cause of the recurring paroxysms of business depression.

On the moral aspects of this question we must not enlarge. Christianity has never yet succeeded in reaching the abject poor. Her stronghold has always been the independent middle classes. To reach the poor with the Gospel they must first be made accessible by social well-being. Free industry from its burdens, restore the earth to the people, and poverty would become as rare as excessive wealth is to-day. There is land enough to feed ten worlds like ours. The Mississippi Valley could clothe and feed all the nations of the earth.

Malthusianism, that pessimistic bugbear which arraigns Providence and destroys faith, finds a stalwart opponent in the author of *Poverty and Progress*. Mr. George condemns the doctrines of Malthus, not only on

religious grounds, but from considerations drawn from history and a sound political economy, and one of his best services to sociology is his masterly discussion of this subject. He proves conclusively that there is no cause to dread either an over-crowded world or a starving world.

There is one other point of importance urged by our land reformers; namely, that a land tax can be collected with less machinery and fraud than any other style of revenue. The present system engenders fraud, perjury, and theft. It corrupts the officers of the revenue and the public conscience. The customs revenue leads to fraudulent invoices and smuggling, and the tax on personal property creates perjury and falsehood. But land lies out-doors. It cannot be hid, and its rental value is easily ascertained. The machinery of collection would be simplified, and the temptations to fraud would be reduced to a minimum.

So far on the credit side of this question. Let us now inquire for the debit account. Civilized society rests on the security of life and property. Absolute security for property earned may be said to be the foundation of modern civilization. No community can be industrious if its earnings are not safe. Mr. George proposes to confiscate all landed property (barring improvements) to the State. He has told us that he does not like the word *confiscate*; but that is precisely the word which defines his plan (*con* and *fiscus*, the common treasury), and it is no defense to say that titles of land are to remain with present holders so long as he would tax the land up to its full rental value. There is no advantage in owning a piece of land if the government seizes its entire revenue. This seizure of ground rents does not disturb the security or revenue of other property, but it is the mal-appropriation of a vast amount of property for which, in most cases, the owners paid honest money. It is a bad example in morals for the sovereign State to put before the citizens, and it would not fail to corrupt the public conscience.

For these reasons many eminent publicists, including Herbert Spencer and Mr. Mill, insist that the government shall make compensation for rents thus appropriated. In his *Political Economy*, vol. i, p. 296, Mr. Mill writes: "It is due to land-owners and to owners of any property whatever, recognized as such by the State, that they shall not be dispossessed of it without receiving its pecuniary value. This is due on the general principles on which property rests."

So long as Mr. George refuses to recognize this right of compensation his reform will have uphill work, for he challenges the resistance of the land-owning classes on the ground of self-interest, and of all classes on the ground of fair play. It is to be conceded, however, that the *mode* of land resumption by the State is an incidental issue, and does not involve the question of the justice and expediency of private ownership in land.

In the *Forum* for July, 1887, Prof. W. T. Harris has an article with the caption, "Henry George's Mistake about Land." The first mistake which this critic points out is Mr. George's overestimate of the income from ground rents. By using United States census returns, he figures

"the actual value of all land in the United States, owned as private property, at somewhat less than \$10,000,000,000 for 1880. Counting the rent on this land at four per cent., we have less than \$400,000,000 per annum, making an average of nearly \$8 for each inhabitant, or a little more than two cents per day." This small sum, the Professor tells us, would not bring ease and luxury to those who are struggling with poverty. The annual expenses of the government are about \$800,000,000. But Professor Harris seems to overlook the vast increase of production which would result from releasing the lands and mines that are now tied up by private ownership. By the present system, land industries are administered only so as to enrich the owners. Under the proposed system they would be administered by the entire population, in the interest of the entire population; or, to use Mr. Lincoln's phrase at Gettysburg, they would be administered "by the people, of the people, for the people."

Mr. George follows Karl Marx in the pessimistic notion that the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. Professor Harris shows that this is not true. The middle classes, whose incomes are from \$750 to \$5,000, have increased since 1850 threefold; the wealthy classes, whose incomes are from \$5,000 to \$15,000, have increased twofold; while the number of persons whose incomes have been below \$750 per annum has relatively decreased, and the average income risen from \$265 to \$415 since 1850.

J. P.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY AS RELATED TO MISSIONS.

"The physician who can minister to a soul diseased can do much good; but one who can minister both to soul and body at the same time is bound to accomplish a more noble work," is an aphorism credited to the *New York Tribune*. It is particularly true in relation to the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout heathen lands by means of educated medical missionaries. It is in perfect concord with the practical teaching of the Lord Jesus, who "went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people." (Matt. ix, 35.) Then, as now, the harvest was "truly plenteous, but the laborers few." In sending out the seventy evangelists, he commanded them to "heal the sick" in whatsoever city they entered, and to "say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." (Luke x, 9.) Prior to his ascension the apostles received a renewal of their preaching and healing commission. Similar therapeutic endowments were at the same epoch promised to "them that believe"—"they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Results were in harmony with obedience and promise: "They went forth and preached every-where, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following." (Mark xvi, 15-20.)

This authoritatively prescribed method of spreading Christianity throughout all lands evinces thorough knowledge of the needs of humanity in the Orient, and in every part of the habitable globe, and indicates the swiftest and surest measures for bringing people of every tongue into the faith, practice, and privileges of true discipleship. Therefore, the greater the progress of medicine and surgery—the more judiciously both branches of the healing art are utilized by missionaries, and the more speedy, always supposing orthodox faith, love, and zeal in spiritual doctrine—will be the approach of the time when Christianity shall be the religion of the race, and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount the acknowledged guide of all individual and social activities.

Two thousand young men and women in this country, and probably an equal, if not larger, number in other lands, are reported to have accepted the call of the Holy Spirit to missionary labor in foreign fields. Many of them intend to obtain a medical education. Some are in course of training, and others will doubtless feel it to be their duty to seek high medical and surgical qualifications. Preaching and teaching practitioners, overburdened by work, are earnestly appealing for re-enforcements. The door of opportunity opens wide, and that of its own accord. Bright as the promises of God are the prospects of his Church. Earnest toilers in every department of science and art are consciously or unconsciously aiding in the great enterprise. Wonderful as the developments of national life have been within the last century, those of the Christian life are still more marvelous. We expect much greater things in the years to come.

In giving reasons for the hope that is in us of the world's complete evangelization within the near future, one of them is founded in the progress of medicine and surgery during the past fifty years. Dr. R. Burdenell Carter, a recent and able writer, asks: "From what pains which our ancestors were compelled to suffer, have we obtained exemption, and from what maladies, which proved fatal to them, have we the means of protecting ourselves?" The answers to these queries crowd together from many quarters, and are of most interesting and instructive character. The recorded death-rate of large cities is only a partial reply, but one, so far as it goes, that is very satisfactory. Macaulay states that in 1685, which was not a sickly year, more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of London died; in 1885 the mortality was about one in fifty. The disciples of Galen and Hippocrates claim that their practice has saved more than half a million lives in England and Wales in excess of the number preserved between 1838 and 1847. In the United States of America the effects of preventive and curative medicine have been not less gratifying. Sanitary legislation has had much to do with these beneficent facts. Improved drainage, improved water supply, better paving and scavenging, the larger removal of refuse, and the comparative prevention of overcrowding, suggested and guided for the most part by Christian physicians and philanthropists, are entitled to great credit. All have been introduced, to some extent, into countries dominated or in-

fluenced by modern Christian civilization. India, particularly, has been benefited by them.

The epidemics and plagues which in former centuries so dreadfully devastated European countries, and which still commit such terrible ravages in heathen lands, have lately been stripped of half their morbid power. Less than fifty years ago scientific pathologists saw that "contagious emanations proceeding from the sick must consist of definite particles, since they obeyed the laws of definite particles and no others; and that these particles must differ among themselves, being in every case peculiar to the disease which alone produced them, and which alone they could reproduce." Local epidemics of cholera were clearly traced back to the use of polluted water; and cases of typhoid fever through contaminated water supply to sewers, middens, and cesspools, and through them to the excretions of infected persons that had been deposited therein. The passage of typhoid poison into cesspools, thence by percolation into wells, and thence, by rinsing milk-cans with the water, to the consumers of the milk, has been clearly established in every case investigated. Protective measures against the contagion of one disease are found to be useless against those of a different nature. Security against any specific disease can only be attained, if at all, through knowledge of its essential phenomena and life-history. M. Pasteur's demonstration of the growth of bacteria in the tissues of the lower animals has enabled scientists to trace some diseases to these minute living organisms, and to conjecture that others originate in similar causes, although attempts to prove it have thus far ended in failure. Much remains to be discovered. Those best qualified to judge believe that the best antidotes to injurious bacteria may be the operation of others of different character. Whatever further researches may elicit, it is safe to predict that they will promote that cautious, reverent, and yet inquiring spirit which is of the very essence of the religion of Christ.

Self-poisoning is shown to be originable in the failure to burn off, by means of the oxygen which enters the blood in respiration, the poisonous substances formed in the body by the expenditure of force in living, and that this poison may afterward spread by contagion, and especially in overcrowded and underfed communities. Typhus, the jail-fever of the Middle Ages, and the sickness of which multitudes of the Irish died after the failure of the potato crop, is one form of this poisoning. The interdependence of all classes in any commonwealth is a lesson taught by experience, as well as by the gospel of grace. The isolation of the sick, the chemical disinfection of their discharges before removal from the room, and the condition and quality of all kinds of food, are directly related to the recovery of the diseased, and to the safety of those who are still well. Diphtheria has repeatedly been produced by drinking the milk of cows suffering from pneumonia or related diseases, and scarlet fever by drinking that of cows with ulcerated udders, the secretion from which has fallen into the pails.

Homely and unpretentious as such knowledge may be, it is of inesti-

mable service to medical missionaries, and greatly augments their power of usefulness. Small-pox, the dreaded scourge of past centuries, has lost its terrors through the application of vaccine. According to Dr. Buchanan, where one vaccinated child dies of small-pox, two hundred of the unvaccinated perish from the same disease. Vaccine thus becomes an instrument of evangelical power. The ability to prevent maladies due to industrial conditions—such as lung diseases occasioned by inhalation of dust, etc., etc.—by adequate methods of protection is another. Knowledge of the alterations produced by or which constitute disease is still another. The invention and use of the stethoscope to ascertain the condition of the heart and lungs, of the clinical thermometer to find the temperature of the blood, of specula for the dilatation, inspection, and treatment of natural orifices, of the various kinds of mirrors for exploring the cavities of the body, of the needle syringe for hypodermic injections, are yet other instruments of missionary usefulness and success.

The confidence of heathen or Moslem patients when once gained seems to be implicit. The use of anæsthetics, which has changed the whole aspect of surgery, only confirms that confidence. In comparison with the rough, unscientific cruelty of old chûrurgeons, the present practice is mildness itself. "Death from shock" is comparatively rare. Conservative surgery is leisurely in its movements, and carefully cuts out diseased portions of joints or limbs, that it may leave members possessed of some degree of strength and usefulness. Difficulties from bleeding are prevented by proper appliances, extensive wounds frequently healed by "first intention," and the horrors of hospitalism greatly mitigated. Animal poison, deadly as that of the rattlesnake, may be cultivated in successive patients, and the very air of the wards be charged with the products of decomposition so that they will inoculate fresh wounds, and produce forms of blood-poisoning that frequently end in death: that such is not extensively the case at present is one triumph of preventive medicine. Accurate coaptation, drainage of wounds, soluble ligatures, exclusion of germ-charged air, and the absolute and chemically completed cleanliness of hands and instruments employed, have enormously decreased hospital and domestic mortality. The importance of instrumental purity can scarcely be exaggerated; for "the shoulder of a knife, the eye of a needle, the fiber of a ligature, the finger-nails of the surgeon, or of an assistant, are all places" in which decomposing albuminous matter, which usually swarms with bacteria, may find a lodgment, and from which it may be transferred to wounds. The application of such knowledge in non-Christian lands will not only save innumerable valued lives, but will induce favorable leaning, to say the least, to that science of salvation from spiritual evils which has given birth thereto.

Hidden diseases—such as ovarian tumors—which have made the lives of countless feminine sufferers but long successions of pains and weaknesses, are no longer the despair of operative surgery. Dr. Ephraim McDowell, of Kentucky, in 1809, was the first to reduce the suggestion of his pre-

ceptor, John Bell, of Glasgow, to practice. Lord Selborne calculates that each successful operation adds twenty-nine years on the average to the life of the patient, and that, too, at the age when such life is of most importance to the family and the commonwealth. The faculty of rendering such service commends female medical missionaries to such acceptance in polygamic communities as they could not otherwise obtain. Epilepsy and paralysis, as caused by injuries to or diseases of the brain, are much better understood than in any previous era; and operations involving trephining of the skull and removal of tumor are attended by an unusual degree of success. The ophthalmoscope, bringing living nerves and their blood-vessels into view, and assisted by cocaine, which temporarily destroys the sensibility to pain of the part to which it is applied, is one of the great inventions of the past forty years, and one of the most useful aids to oculists in the treatment of diseased or abnormally constructed eyes.

John Wesley is commonly credited with the saying that "cleanliness is next to godliness." Modern medical science asserts that as prophylactic and curative it is "next" to nothing, but equal, if not superior, to medicine itself. England claims the credit of its application to surgery, and also claims the honor of discovering the circulation of the blood, the functions of the spinal cord, and the reflex action of the nervous centers. The employment of anæsthetics and ovariectomy she concedes to the United States; auscultation and the stethoscope to France, and the ophthalmoscope to Germany. These are the great missionary nations of the world, and by them will all the discoveries and appliances of the Esculapian art be utilized for the subjugation of the world to Christ. Not by the crosser and the sword, but by the teacher and the healer, are the coming triumphs of the sacramental host to be won.

Singularly, and yet necessarily, prominent in the vanguard of the evangelical army are our female medical missionaries. Yet it is but a little while since they were admitted to a practice peculiarly suited to their nature and to the most pressing demands of society, in and out of Christendom. America is acknowledged to be the first of civilized countries to receive women into the ranks of authorized medical practitioners. Miss Blackwell was among the foremost, if not the first, to graduate in this country, and was permitted, after the passage of the English Medical Act in 1858, to register in England. Miss Garrett, better known as Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, was the first English lady-doctor, but did not obtain her license from the London Society of Apothecaries until 1865. Since then fifty-five women have received the requisite qualification for practice in the special medical school attached to the Royal Free Hospital. Sixty-one students are now at that school, preparing for usefulness in Great Britain, Ireland, and India, but more particularly in India.

The facts as to the immense value of medical missionaries are forcibly set forth by those whose acquirements and experience entitle them to speak with authority on this subject. Dr. W. H. Thomson, son of the celebrated author of *The Land and the Book*, and President of the Inter-

national Medical Missionary Society in New York, believes that it is through medical missionary agency that the Church will solve the problem of how to reach the people in the East. The professional healer is an irresistible attraction to them. They gladly press around him. If the physician be a female, the doors of the seraglio or zenana readily unclosed to her entrance, and woman by woman is introduced to the Saviour of all. Preliminary labor among the masses of the poor and godless in this and other Christian lands is excellent practical training for future labor in heathen fields. Dr. Summers, one of Bishop Taylor's pioneers in Africa, is a graduate of this institution, under its former title of the New York Medical Missionary Society. At Malange, where he stayed a year, he so won the hearts of the people that they supplied him with thirty-six loaded carriers for his eventful journey to the banks of the Congo, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1886.

Forty years ago, when Dr. Bradley went to Siam, a great priest said to him: "Have you come with your little chisel to undermine our great mountain of Buddhism?" When eight hundred people were dying of cholera every day at Bangkok the doctor stayed with and ministered to them and their friends. Now all Siam welcomes missionaries, but especially medical missionaries. Royalty and commonalty are alike eager to aid their operations. In Teheran, Persia, the medical missionary, Dr. Torrence, was sent for by the prime minister, whom several native physicians had failed to cure, and succeeded in restoring him to health. Three pieces of land, on which to build a hospital, constituted his immediate reward; but infinitely more than that, in his estimation, is the effect his success will have upon the kingdom of Christ. In China an ill-natured crowd was about to drive a party of missionaries back to the river from which they had landed, but were prevented by a gray-headed man, who said: "Let these people alone, they are good people. Thirty years ago I was sick in Canton and these men's friends took care of me and cured me." In Turkey, Mrs. Isabella Davis, who labored there with her late husband, a medical missionary, says that "she met the women alone, and then she saw their sad faces, for they could not show themselves before men. They came to the hospital, but would never have gone to the church. When they heard the story of Jesus and his love, and that there was pardon for their sins and healing for their bodies, they were quite overcome and said: 'Is it true that he died for women?' Two men came three days' journey to Dr. Davis to get their sight. One was made able to see out of one eye, and followed the doctor every-where, almost worshipping him, and intently listening to the Gospel." R. W.

DR. EDWARD MCGLYNN AND THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

Dr. McGlynn has been excommunicated and still lives. He has been "liberated," he tells us, and a vigorous use he makes of his freedom. Before the Anti-Poverty Societies, and on the platforms of the large cities, east and west, he is the popular orator of "The New Crusade," and the champion of the rights of independent American Catholics. His followers cleave to him with a devotion which braves all ecclesiastical penalties.

In 1555 Archbishop Cranmer was excommunicated for refusing to obey a summons to Rome. Father McGlynn has precedents in claiming that he is entitled to trial in his own country, and not at Rome. Luther also was summoned to Rome, and for his refusal the faithful were admonished "to arrest and confine him and his confederates." But the bolt against Luther was launched about a century too late. The people of Germany burned the bull, and protected the Reformer. The revolt at that time gave birth to Protestant civilization, and reformed the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen what benefits are in store for mankind from the revolt of to-day. Dr. McGlynn is a man who seems to unite imperiousness of nature with genuine Christian feeling; a man passionate and obstinate, perhaps, but thoroughly honest and thoroughly unselfish.

Upon him the excommunication will have no other effect than to confirm him in his opinions and conduct, but its effect upon his Catholic sympathizers is more doubtful. The most penetrating conviction in the Catholic mind, even in America, is that immeasurable calamity lies in estrangement from the Church. It is to be expected that the more bigoted, not to say devout, Catholics will drop away from him, and if he succeeds in holding any considerable numbers of his fellow-religionists it will only be because our American civilization has honeycombed the Roman system. One extraordinary and unique feature of this McGlynn revolt is the part which women take in it. His most enthusiastic supporters are women; and it would seem that almost the entire female sex of his large parish are with him in his rebellion against the authorities of the Church. That there will result an organized secession from the Church is in no way probable; but that a leaven of individualism and self-assertion has been introduced among American Catholics, which will go far toward making the American Catholic Church as free as the Gallican Church was in the days of Bossuet, is almost sure. For centuries it was the contention of the Church in France that, while primacy over the universal Church is with the Roman pontiff, yet there resides in the national Churches an independence in many details of self-government and of local discipline; papal prerogatives are limited by canons and decrees of general councils, and by the laws of the universal Church. The great Bossuet and the entire clergy of France proclaimed the principles of Gallicanism in "The Declaration of the French Clergy" in 1682, according to which there was practical independence for

the French Church. Among those principles was one that neither the pontiff nor his legates can hear French causes "in the first instance," and that even in cases of appeal he is bound to assign native judges to hear the appeal. It is claimed by Dr. McGlynn and his friends that by canon law he is entitled to trial in New York in a canonically constituted court, and that only after disobedience to the decree of such a court is he amenable to the powers at Rome. Such a trial has been denied him. The mandate from Rome forbidding his participation in social and political controversies he claims is without authority in Catholic law, and an exercise of arbitrary power. In Ireland bishops and priests are leaders in the political movement for "home rule;" and in Germany the Pope himself has ordered his followers to side with Bismarck in his struggle with the Socialists. But if he has transgressed against the order of the Church, he asks for trial at home, and not at Rome. "You have degraded me from my ministry without a hearing," he says; "you have ordered me to retract my opinions on a social question, and then to go to Rome. Lift your suspension; restore me to my parish and ministry, and I will then consider your invitation to Rome."

The effect of the excommunication of Dr. McGlynn on the new Labor Party, which held its convention in Syracuse on the 17th of August, is a question which deeply concerns the politicians. All loyal Catholics must of necessity keep away from any organization which indorses the land theories of Henry George, for it is those land theories which have brought Dr. McGlynn to all his troubles. For the present, the George party must be confined to Protestants and rebellious Catholics. But the chief significance of the McGlynn revolt is as a religious movement. On the Sunday evening following the excommunication thousands of Catholics and sympathizing Protestants gathered in the vicinity of the Academy of Music in New York to give a welcome to the deposed priest. Dr. McGlynn's speech was remarkable in boldness and power. He was as defiant as Hugh Latimer, and as impassioned as Savonarola. If he echoed to any considerable extent the sentiments of Catholics in this country it would seem that the papacy is doomed in America. He began by an appeal to the authority of conscience. The following extracts we take from the speech, as reported in *The Standard* of July 16 :

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a signal evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the God whom we adore that amid the perplexities of life, the doubts as to the truth, the anxieties as to duty, the fears for the past and the future, the ruthless tearing of the heart-strings as by a malignant fate, there is yet a clear and simple guide given to every rational being that shall lead him safely through the labyrinth to a perfect deliverance. (Great applause.)

That guide is the voice of conscience, teaching men to apply to themselves a universal law that is written equally upon the hearts of all God's children. This is a natural law that necessarily precedes all revealed law. If this natural monitor did not exist within the breast of each of us, then would revelation appeal to us in vain. (Applause). Our God is a wondrously merciful as well as a wise and loving God, and he will never condemn any one who has followed that guide, even though sometimes he may have mistaken the light.

It is the teaching of Christian philosophy, it is the teaching of Catholic moral theology, that he who follows his conscience, even though it be to error, is ever

obeying the holy will of God. (Applause.) And it is the teaching of right reason, of natural religion, of Christian philosophy, and of the theology of the Catholic schools, which I have learned under the very shadow of the Vatican, that the man who sins against his conscience sins against the Holy Ghost (great applause); and that if any power on earth, even though it be he who sits enthroned in the Vatican (applause), commands a man to do or say aught against his conscience, to obey even that man were to sin against the Holy Ghost. (Uproarious applause.)

In the following noble passage he distinguishes between the false and the true Church, and defines the mission of the latter :

It has become necessary to teach you to distinguish between the blunders, the stupidity, the cupidity, and the actual crimes of a mere ecclesiastical machine (shouts of applause) and that ideal Church of Christ without spot, without wrinkle, the spouse of our Lord and Master, purchased with the terrible price of his blood, whose garments are washed exceeding white, whose teachings have fired the hearts and inspired the minds of saints and seers and sages, and have taken barbarous nations from the woods and from their rude huts to civilize them, and make them the greatest nations of the world! It is necessary that we should learn to distinguish between men and Christ, between the allegiance that we owe to the Christian creed, the profound reverence that we owe to the Christian sacraments, and the very limited obedience that we owe to an authority whose only reason for being is that it may build up and not tear down (applause); that it may, in the language of Christian piety, edify and not disedify; that it may convert men to Christ, and not drive whole nations from him (applause); that it may exemplify in every land and age the humility, patience, charity, and self-sacrifice of the Master; that it may teach men in a selfish age to forget themselves; that it may fire them as did the Master with the enthusiasm of humanity; and that it may, in spite of the cupidity of perverted hearts, teach men to be unselfish, and in spite of the passions that disintegrate human society and separate man from man to-day, cause to prevail the magnificent gospel of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn finds the Church less respected in Catholic countries than elsewhere:

It is a notorious fact that religion is vanishing fast from nearly every part of the world; that men who are naturally religious—as, in fact, all men are naturally religious (“hear, hear,” and applause)—are being alienated from the Churches, and perhaps more from the Catholic Church than any other. (Cries of “hear, hear,” and applause.) In so-called Catholic countries you will find a peculiarly satanic hatred of religion—pope, bishop, creed, and Church—that you will find scarcely anywhere else. (Applause.) In this favored land of ours the Catholic priest is, as a rule, an honored and influential member of the community. (Applause.) Men not of his communion treat him with respect and with deference. They respect him as a moral force in the community; they are often glad and thankful to be permitted to contribute to the building of his church; they are glad to have his influence in aid of peace, order, virtue, and sobriety. Go to Catholic countries and you find that the gown of the priest is hated as something unclean. You will find that a priest can get all the room he wants in a railway carriage by simply exhibiting himself and his gown and shovel hat at the door of the compartment. It is a remarkable thing that if you want to see real sincere devotion to the Roman Catholic Church you must go to those countries where the Church has been robbed of her benefices, where she has been impoverished, where she has been reduced to something a little nearer the primitive apostolic simplicity, and where she has been largely free from the influence of Roman cupidity, Roman domination, and Roman diplomacy. (Great applause.)

HUXLEY'S LATEST "SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY."

While politics and religion are the two subjects in which the majority of civilized society are always most deeply interested, it is no less certain that the relations between natural science and revealed religion are topics of wide-spread and earnest discussion. As it is now, and has been for centuries, so it is likely to be for centuries to come. Science has no more authoritative, lucid, or forcible expositor than Professor T. H. Huxley; and none of his historical expositions is more judiciously considered than that published in the jubilee work entitled, *The Reign of Queen Victoria*.*

"The wonderful increase of industrial production by the application of machinery, the improvement of old technical processes and the invention of new ones, accompanied by an even more remarkable development of old and new means of locomotion and intercommunication," is, in Mr. Huxley's opinion, "the most obvious and the most distinctive feature of the history of civilization during the past fifty years." For "this revolution—for it is nothing less"—the world is largely indebted to "physical science, in consequence of the application of scientific methods to the investigation of the phenomena of the material world." How revealed religion has been affected by this wonderful progress is an inquiry of special importance, not to theologians only, but to people of all classes and pursuits. Huxley is not regarded with favor by churchmen generally. Preachers, whose deliverances would be of more value if they were better acquainted with the subjects whereof they speak, denounce him as "grossly materialistic" in his belief, and malignant in his spirit toward Christianity." He, in retaliation, affirms a necessary struggle between science and religion, in which "extinguished theologians lie like strangled snakes beside the cradled Hercules." The two parties make up "a very pretty quarrel." Each is strong in its own domain, and somewhat likely to come to grief when it invades that of the other. The Huxleyan is professedly of the earth, earthy, and deals principally with physics. The theologian is more immediately concerned with spiritual things, through revelation and consciousness. The scientist writes for the public, and as the theologian is a part of the public he has a perfect right to judge how far alleged scientific truths agree or disagree with his interpretation of the contents of revelation. He is never reluctant to point out such solecisms as those of Dr. John W. Draper, who, in his *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, identified religion with Roman Catholicism, and at the same time asserted the necessary friendliness between science and Protestantism, inasmuch as both rest upon the exercise of the right of private judgment. Nor will he be at all unwilling to dispute Professor Huxley's statement, that the arrested

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria*. A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Vol. ii.

development of physical science in the Middle Ages was due to "the diversion of men's thoughts from sublunary matters to the problems of the supernatural world suggested by Christian dogma." Any philosophic history of Christianity clearly shows that what he calls "Christian dogma" was really Gnostic or heathen superstition. Christian dogma never fails to encourage physical science, and that for the sufficient reason that it furnishes brilliantly beautiful and telling illustrations of revealed truths.

Without attempting any apology for Professor Huxley's flings at theologians, we must concede that he is an honored, if unconscious, instrument in enlarging human knowledge of divine things. Demonstrated scientific truths are invariably in harmony with correct interpretation of "God's word written." Arrogant assumption is not exclusively proper to the interpreter of either nature or revelation. Both are human, and therefore errant. Disagreement is not between the two records of the Almighty, but between the fallible human expositors. As these are gradually led into the knowledge of all truth, the unity of Jehovah's revelations of himself will be more and more obvious.

Despite Mr. Huxley's grievances by mediæval dogmatists, he is generous enough to state that "the schoolmen considered no one to be properly educated unless he were acquainted with, at any rate, one branch of physical science;" and that "in this respect, it is only just to them to observe that they were far in advance of those who sit in their seats." "The invention of hypotheses based on incomplete inductions," he maintains, "has proved itself to be a most efficient, indeed an indispensable, instrument of scientific progress." If this be true as to the lower forms of divine workmanship, why should it be less true of the higher? Christian theology, quite as much, or even more, than the new natural philosophy, is guided by no "search after practical fruits" in the shape of mere wealth. "That which stirs the pulses of all disciples of the latter," Mr. Huxley says, "is the love of knowledge and the joy of the discovery of the causes of things sung by the old poets—the supreme delight of extending the realm of law and order ever farther toward the unattainable goals of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, between which our little race of life is run." "Nothing great in science has ever been done by men, whatever their power, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting." "Physical science is one and indivisible;" its "object is the discovery of the rational order which pervades the universe," its postulates "the objective existence of a material world—the universality of the law of causation (that nothing happens without a cause)—and that the rules or so called 'laws of nature' by which the relation of phenomena is truly defined [are] true for all time."

In all this there is nothing discordant with or unhelpful to that practical biblical Christianity which "rejoiceth in the truth" (1 Cor. xiii, 6), and delights to trace law to a Lawgiver and order to a Ruler whose dominion is co-extensive with the universe, to "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" (Isa. lvii, 15); yea, the divine-

human Christ, "the fullness of him that filleth all in all." Eph. i, 23. The psalmist voices the reverent thirst for knowledge of the orthodox believer in the words: "I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the works of thy hands" (Psa. cxliii, 5), as truly as does St. Paul his maturest convictions: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." 1 Cor. viii, 6. "By him all things consist" (Col. i, 16); and his workings in the designed sequences of causes and effects are like himself, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." Heb. xiii, 8.

Professor Huxley recognizes the influence of revelation in what he regards as the three greatest achievements of physical science, namely, the doctrines of the molecular constitution of matter, the conservation of energy, and evolution, by saying that "it would be hard to overrate the influence of metaphysical, and even of theological, considerations upon the development of all three." Each of these doctrines, so far as it is verifiably sound, impressively illustrates the creative, preservative, and ever-ascendant operation of "the blessed and only Potentate." "Theoretically, at any rate," he tells us, "the transmutability of the elements is a verifiable scientific hypothesis." We are not sorry to know that he holds this belief, quadrating as it does with the revealed doctrine of the "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii, 13), and that Christ will "change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." Phil. iii, 21.

In the following sentence we fail to see anything "grossly materialistic:" "A living body is a machine by which energy is transformed in the same sense as a steam-engine is so, and all its movements, molar or molecular, are to be accounted for by the energy which is supplied to it. The phenomena of consciousness which arise, along with certain transformations of energy, cannot be interpolated into the series of these transformations, inasmuch as they are not motions to which the doctrine of the conservation of energy applies. And, for the same reason, they do not necessitate the using up of energy; a sensation has no mass, and cannot be conceived to be susceptible of movement. That a particular molecular motion does give rise to a state of consciousness is experimentally certain; but the how and why of the process are just as inexplicable as in the case of the communication of kinetic energy by impact." In other words, the phenomena of consciousness are not identical with transformations of energy, and compel belief in the presence of spirit immanent in organized matter and yet totally distinct from it.

Mr. Huxley knows of no conditions under which life can come from any thing but life, nor do we believe that he ever will. His hypothesis of evolution—that higher forms of animal and plant life are evolved from lower—is probably one that will pass into the category of wild guesses, which he insists have done such royal service to Kepler, Newton, and other great philosophers. Evolution of plan, in the sense that the plan

of a man is higher than that of a mollusk, is apparent in all God's work; but that a mollusk may, through countless ages, evolve itself into a man, is an hypothesis as foundationless as the Ptolemaic theory—that is, so far as we are able to judge of facts. Mr. Huxley retorts on disbelief in his evolutionary hypothesis by a flier at Genesis as “pentateuchal mythology,” and at “the controlling and perverting influence of theology.” What theology? That founded on the eventually correct interpretation of the Bible, out of which “new truth” continually breaks, or the theology of the papacy—pontifical or Protestant? The first, so far as hitherto attained, has, according to his own words, and to the affirmations of Draper, powerfully aided the development of physical science. The fact is that true scientific discovery corrects human interpretation, and true interpretation corrects wrong scientific hypothesis. Consciously or unconsciously, seekers of truth in every department are working toward the same end. Thomas H. Huxley, notwithstanding his eloquent irritability, is an invaluable laborer, and nothing is surer than that every truth he finds in the realm of nature will be only a part of that wider, eternal truth revealed in the Scriptures of grace.

R. W.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE still has its struggles in regard to the basis of its faith. In the year 1866 the long strife between Orthodox and Liberals rose to its highest point, and there followed a division in the General Pastoral Conference. The Liberals withdrew and formed a special Conference, and the Orthodox formulated a statute in the following words: “In matters of faith the Conference rests on the sovereign authority of the Sacred Scriptures and the apostolic writings as the summary expression of the works and miracles of God as found in the Holy Writ.”

This Conference of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Free Churches has now lasted for twenty years, but of late it has much decreased in interest. Many attributed this fact to the narrow boundaries in which it moved, and have felt that more liberty would bring more life into their discussions; and thus in the late Conference an effort was made to drop the said statute. But the majority resolved to retain it, and, therefore, there is no probability for a time of a closer union of the two parties.

The special conferences of the Lutherans and the Free Church passed off in harmony, and the anniversaries of the various Christian endeavors were encouraging and gratifying. The Missionary Board reported the largest income ever received, nearly \$100,000. About 200,000 francs were appropriated for a new mission house, 20,000 for a new mission on the Congo, and the deficit, which last year was quite large, has been reduced to a very small sum.

A communication concerning the elementary schools of the Protestants was less gratifying. It has been found necessary to close the normal

school for elementary teachers—an institution that has existed for about fifty years, and has sent out a large number of faithful and capable Christian teachers. The cause is simply the competition of the State. The laicization of elementary instruction has simply abolished the Protestant schools. The normal school has been deprived of the annual stipend so long accorded by the State, and nothing is left but to close its doors. The future will show whether in this way a service has been rendered to the cause of pure education. The authorities are now playing fast and loose with all educational interests, which in fact never know where they stand; each new ministry revises the budget for educational purposes, and sports with the whole matter in any way that will secure the most favor for the moment.

THE SOCIAL TROUBLES IN BELGIUM are becoming truly alarming, and threaten great disaster to the State. The authorities seem at a stand-still in the matter of relief, and are, it would seem, trying to find a remedy in political concessions. The demands of the masses are, suspension of the existing constitution, universal suffrage, a constituent assembly, separation of Church from State, etc. The extension of the right of suffrage to the masses would indicate that the government would give them a boon, but the condition accompanying it, namely, the capacity to read and write, greatly narrows its sphere. The Catholic Church of the country, in its work of Christian love and care has, carefully confined this art to the few. It therefore almost seems as if the clerical ministry were indifferent to the fate of the laboring class, thinking to alleviate it through the Church, and not through the State. It has long been the boast of the Church that it can contend more successfully with these social troubles than any other power. But the present condition of things in that country where the Church has always had the fullest sway greatly belies this assertion. One never hears that the Belgian clergy are endeavoring to sharpen the conscience of the wealthier classes toward the sufferings of the poor, or would train them to a higher moral perception of their duty to the demands of a lower humanity. All the wealthy classes of Belgium, Catholic as well as Liberal, seem inclined to combine to retain all the political power which they possess, and are not the least inclined to soften their hearts toward their poorer and suffering countrymen. They would rather punish with the lash of the scorpion, and starve them into submission, than suggest any measure of conciliation.

All right-minded men must, of course, condemn the revolutionary and anarchical measures of the Belgian workingmen, who can hope for no melioration of their condition in their way; but the conduct of employers, political rulers, and the priests has been quite as worthy of condemnation. In their necessity the people have been misled and mistreated, and while Belgium has been fast growing in importance in the industrial world, its people have been sinking very low in the moral scale.

The Catholic Church, which boasts so much of being the only saviour in social troubles, shows in Belgium just what it is; namely, not the servant

of God, who preaches the Gospel to the poor and the rich, but the representative of unholy desires and the servant of mammon, which does not hesitate to make common cause with the oppressors of the poor and lowly. Of course there are many men in Belgium who are sincere in their Christianity, but their voices are not heard, and they are opposed on all sides. It is far more easy to pretend to practice Christianity than in reality so to do; but the present generation will ere long learn that for all the sorrows in the world there is but one Physician. For such immense industries as those of Belgium there can be no prosperity without even-handed justice; and a state that rests on such a social foundation as now prevails must hasten to its ruin. Every earnest Christian man in that land must see this, but the great trouble is how to begin a reform while that Church is in power which has largely been the cause of the unfortunate situation.

THE EVANGELICAL UNION in Italy does not seem to make a great deal of progress, and we think the wrong parties are blamed for the failure of the plan thus far. It is generally believed that the Free Church is at fault in this matter, whereas the trouble comes clearly from the Waldensians. By a special commission, the two churches in 1885 agreed on a basis of union. This agreement, it is true, was only a preliminary measure, but it was made by the five most prominent members of each Church, and made unanimously, and was to serve as a basis for all other negotiations regarding which they would legislate.

In this statute of union it was distinctly declared by both sides that the name of the united Churches should be, the "Evangelical Church of Italy." In the general convocation of 1865 of the Free Churches this so-called combination statute was unanimously accepted. But the Waldensian Synod of 1866 made striking changes in this statute, and then adopted it by a one-sided vote, as the Free Churches were not represented. To those who knew the relations of the Free Churches in Italy it was clear that this movement would kill the measure, on account, of the inadmissible condition that the combined Church should bear the name of the Waldensian Church, instead of that of the Evangelical Church.

Now what would the Waldensians have thought had the Free Church, on the contrary, coolly rejected the proposition of the commission, and adopted for the union the name of the Free Church of Italy? It was almost superfluous for the president of the commission, Dr. Prochet, to inform the synod that such alterations would render the acceptance of the measure impossible on the part of the Free Churches. These latter are by no means willing to lose their identity entirely by being swallowed up in the Waldensian Church. The name of Union would be equally fair to all; that of Waldensian would be manifestly misleading, to say the least. This movement has caused considerable feeling in Berlin, where the Waldensians often appeal for help, and will generally make their cause unpopular outside of Italy, whence they draw much of their financial aid.

And the matter is made the more grievous because it is presented as

a slight difference, while it is in reality an insuperable obstacle, as the other Protestant Churches in Italy will not consent to be swallowed up in the Church that contains the least aggressive life, and depends for its support so largely on funds from foreign sources.

Now under such circumstances to take the position that the Free Churches are the ones who are delaying the union is absurd. It is not, therefore, surprising that the General Convention of the Free Churches, in their late meeting in Florence, passed the following resolution: "Having heard the report of the special commission regarding the changes made by the Waldensian Synod, and duly considered them, we greatly regret that the union should be delayed by them, as we must remain by the decision of the General Assembly of 1885; and we sincerely express the wish that these obstacles may be removed, and that the two Churches may be united at as early a date as possible." It now remains to be seen whether the next Waldensian Synod will retrace its steps, and make a union possible.

"HAIL, PRINCE OF PEACE!" is the cry to greet the pope on the celebration of his jubilee, according to Father Tosti, the well-known and very learned abbot of the abbey of Mount Cassino, who seems now to rise like the prophet of old, but with the same cry applied to mortal man, and not to the coming Saviour. The peace that the abbot looks forward to with enthusiastic delight is that between the holy pontiff and the Italian monarchy, when Leo is to be borne, according to him, on the shoulders of the entire nation, and when the cry of "*Ave Princeps Pacis!*" will resound from the mouths of thirty millions of Italians. In the words of Tosti, "We shall see miracles at the jubilee of the holy father. Providence will inspire worldly power, and the filial love of an entire nation will offer its heart to the pope as to an invincible rock. We shall see the palanquin of the pontiff borne on the shoulders of thirty thousand Italians. We shall see Leo XIII. borne so high that on looking down he will see no more conflicts or discord. His eyes will perceive the portals of a new realm, namely, the rule over all consciences that have become tired of war and thirst after peace."

These words of the hoary abbot of Mount Cassino, which he sends forth into the land from his lonely eminence, are enthusiastic and full of warmth; but with all this they are nothing more than the voice of the preacher in the desert, and they will find genuine echo neither in the Vatican nor among the thirty millions. If the abbot of the mount had uttered the warning prophecy that the thirty millions of Italians on the occasion of the jubilee would lay at his feet the former Holy See, or even a part of it, this voice would have been welcome, and would have brought to the venerable monk a new dignity. But Father Tosti says not such things; in his soaring words echoes not the expectation that Leo on that grand occasion will find the enthusiasm and the offerings of the heart so grateful that he will abandon the hope of the recovery of the temporal power, and thereby solemnly indorse the situation created by the "occupation" of Rome.

Father Tosti, in his lofty cloister, has hoped for many a day that the Vatican would finally comprehend the expression of a kingdom that is not of this world. But this has been a vain hope. Even Pius IX., who knew the abbot well, once said to him, "You will never be made a cardinal; aye, not even a sacristan." But what of the thirty millions of Italians? When the pope sees the nation at his feet, will he not be overpowered by it? Will his heart not be so deeply touched that he will exclaim, "Children, you have conquered; you shall have peace; I renounce all temporal power?"

A BITTER CRY is going up in France from many Christian hearts in regard to the demoralization of the young. It is claimed that this is largely caused by the godless schools, showing how hard it is for a people accustomed to a union between Church and State to pass over into different relations. The greatest violence is in this way done to the Church, and the Protestant pastors are uttering painful complaints.

Legally, Sunday and Thursday are free in the schools, that the children may on these days enjoy special religious instruction. But the City Council of Paris runs a continual competition with the Church by arranging for these days all sorts of military parades and demonstrations, theatrical performances for the children, visits to expositions, etc., so that their time is in this way entirely absorbed. Thus the young come finally to be confirmed without the least instruction in the Bible and its history. Moses, Abraham, and David are to them unknown names. In matter of morals the children are totally neglected. They have no idea of the fear of God, and are not accustomed to prayer or any religious exercises. As they thus come to their religious care-takers for examination they know absolutely nothing of all those things required by the Church before confirmation.

Thus neglected by the State, the Church can depend only on the influence of the family. But the character of family life in France, especially in the large cities, is, alas! too well known. This sad state of things causes alarm to the Church, and its loyal servants are now making a supreme effort to overcome this modern evil by increased zeal and sacrifice, and are uttering the cry of alarm to parents to open their eyes to the danger.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES are being stirred up by the demand for reform. A professor in Breslau has just issued a bulky brochure entitled *Faults in German Universities, and the Means of Amelioration*. His complaints seem to be made in honest frankness, and his suggestions are characterized by perception and good sense. He complains, in the first place, of the looseness in the opening and closing of the semesters. Every German student knows how long it is before the full corps of professors gets into running order, and how soon some of them close their work. In this way it is quite often the case that a full term of work cannot be obtained.

He also complains of a great deal of carelessness in the matter of graduation; many students get through certain studies with very little attendance on the lectures. And again, he calls attention to the inequality of the salaries, and the uncertainty in many cases of obtaining the students' fees which are depended on. He calls also for the more rigorous sifting out of old men, and the advance of young ones with more vigor and enthusiasm, and with less of the professional rut. He claims that as a rule the professors should be pensioned at their sixty-fifth year, barring very exceptional cases of efficiency.

He very strenuously insists on the *liberty of teaching* (*Lehrfreiheit*) as the palladium of the German universities, and would have no teacher interfered with either by Church or State. But a thoughtful man will soon see that this absolute liberty to teach what and as one pleases may be attended with much danger. The German savants have a somewhat romantic idea of this peculiar kind of liberty. We would suggest to the author of the above criticism that he might well have called for a few restrictions on the unlimited carousing and dueling of some of the students.

CENTRAL AFRICA is painted in no flattering colors by a recent German traveler, especially Gaboon and the French settlements in the neighborhood. Gaboon itself is rather attractive in appearance in comparison with other settlements on the coast, but he who would judge of the prosperity of the place by its looks would be much deceived. For nearly fifty years this settlement has existed, and for many years it was very prosperous, but now is so demoralized that a few more government taxes and restrictions will cause the close of the factories and the retirement of the traders.

The French factories are dirty and neglected, and are the picture of sloth and disorder, while the Portuguese are, if possible, still worse. The German and English set better examples, but even these seem to feel that their day has departed. The truth is, that the old system of factories on the coast carried on by certain parties under the shield of their governments has had its fortunes and its day. The advent of the missionaries and the independent traders, who compete with one another and introduce modern modes of trading, has taught the negroes new lessons, and made them more careful whom they trust.

The natives all along this coast have been greatly demoralized by intercourse with the whites, such as they were, and as a result the most of them have been pushed back out of the villages, where are now found in this region scarcely more than a thousand souls. These are a low and abandoned class, mostly; they are deceitful, thieving, and wholly immoral, and totally ruined by the wholesale use of the worst of rum. It is well, indeed, for all this coast that the days of the slave-trade and the slave-dealers are past, for it was fast becoming a desert.

"SAVE THE YOUNG!" is also the cry in Germany. Church and State, and voluntary benevolence, are joining hands to assist in the effort to res-

cue the young from the dangers that surround them. This work must be vigorously done by all classes of the people if hosts of these are not to fall a prey to the thousand religious and moral dangers that surround them. This task has been systematically begun by the spiritual director of the famous institution in Halle, founded mainly in the interest of the orphans and abandoned children.

This good man, whose calling gives him much opportunity to know of the needs and dangers of childhood, brought the matter before the annual convocation of the friends of home missions in the province of Saxony, and a large audience listened to him with rapt attention. The result was that the Provincial Committee took charge of the work, and has issued a call entitled, "Care for the Children," directed mainly to the friends of Protestant youth of the land. The pastors of the respective parishes are invited to take the lead in this effort, and to carry it into schools and families, and wherever, in their judgment, they see a field and pressing need for labor. It is hoped that this appeal may excite many Christian people to find an interest in the movement and give it active assistance.

JERUSALEM is extending her boundary line materially. The heights that extend to the west from the Jaffa gate are being rapidly covered with new structures, that even now extend over a greater space than that of the city within the walls. The Abyssinians believe that they and the Russo-Greek Church alone possess the true faith, and should, therefore, exclusively rule the earth. In the plains of Sharon their two hosts are to combine, their two rulers are there to take the sacrament together, and then to proceed to divide the world between them in order to subject it to the faith.

The tourists of the last season to Jerusalem were more numerous than ever before. They bring money and service into the land, though few of them tarry for more than a week. The pilgrims, numbering about thirty thousand, require a strong police force to keep them in order. The English Protestant bishop is now permanently settled there, and the Church does not require a German bishop in addition. In proportion as means flow into the land the desire to build grows stronger. Russia is still working at its mighty tower on the Mount of Olives, and proposes, it is said, to make it a hundred yards high. If this should be done, this will be the highest structure in the Orient.

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT is becoming more and more bitter in its endeavor to cut off any accessions from the "*rotten West*," as it sarcastically calls all European lands. Following the ukase which excludes the German language from the schools of the Baltic Provinces, comes another which forbids to foreigners the acquisition of land in Poland. The Poles and Lithuanians of the German Empire are rudely struck by this measure, as well as many Polish Austrian families from Galicia. The Poles of Austria propose to bring this matter before the Austrian Council, but this will do no good, as St. Petersburg is wedded to its idols, and seldom listens to

advice or appeals. The Poles may be thankful if this decree is not also made retrospective, driving out many that are now settled there with business and families. It would not be a difficult matter for Russia to find a pretext for this and the confiscation of their property.

THE JEWS OF ALGIERS must be a hopeless lot. Pastor Krieger, who is now working among these people in Oran, declares that if those in that region are not now converted they never will be. They are surrounded on all sides with New Testaments, but they trample on them. The following incident occurred there lately, according to the above authority: An English society for the conversion of the children of Israel sent thousands of Hebrew Testaments thither. The Church was for days simply filled with boxes. A special messenger was also sent to distribute these books freely among the Jews. But how were they received? The Jews took the books; they even asked for them, but mostly in order to tear them to pieces before the eyes of those who gave them to them. Therefore many of the streets and squares of the Jewish quarters are covered with the leaves, which are trodden under foot!

FROM JAPAN there comes a strange story to German journals, which runs thus: Great excitement has been caused here by the common worship of Buddha on the part of heathens and Christians, on the occasion of the interment of the wife of the governor of Nagasaki in the great Buddha temple. A Christian missionary was not ashamed to devote to the deceased a European funeral discourse, and Christian ladies and gentlemen threw, in common with the Japanese heathen, incense into the burning censor on the altar, folded their hands, and made low bows to the honor of the spirits of the deceased. The English consul was at the head of this company. Only two of those present regarded the protest of a Christian missionary, and refrained from joining in the service. On the following Sunday the English missionary, from his pulpit, raised his protest against this violation of the name of Christ from his confessed supporters, declaring it an insult to all native-born Christians.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

PROGRESS AMONG ARMENIANS IN TURKEY. — Here and there in Turkey an Armenian church has become so liberalized as to listen with gladness to the American missionaries. The priests are the last to receive the pure Gospel; but even they, in some instances, show that their prejudices are not proof against all influences. In Zeitoon, which is in the Central Turkey mission of the American Board, an Armenian priest who has become a leader in what is called the "Lovist" movement—a movement toward reform, begun chiefly under the influence of Protestant teaching—called

on the Rev. Henry Marden, the missionary, and invited him and his helpers to take charge of the preaching services to be held in the Armenian Church Sunday noon. Mr. Marden responded favorably, and preached freely to a crowded audience of a thousand or more on "Repentance." A preacher from Marash, who accompanied him, followed with a discourse on the importance of immediate repentance. The service was three hours long, but men and women, many of whom were of a very rough type, listened intently, and the only restless persons were some Armenian priests who sat near the door. The priest who was in charge of the church expressed his approval of the doctrines set forth by the preachers. Shortly after Mr. Marden was again invited to preach to an Armenian congregation, this time in what is called the "robbers' ward" of the city. The church was packed, and the Moslem governor, judge, and other city representatives were present out of curiosity. Mr. Marden read from a Turkish Bible handed him by the priest, and took for his subject "The Brazen Serpent." The people, many of whom were outlaws, listened with rapt attention for nearly three hours. Writing of the service Mr. Marden says:

Zeitoun, and especially this ward, has been for generations a nest of outlaws, and a few years ago was saved from destruction at the hands of the exasperated Turks only by the mediation of the missionaries. Persistent efforts were made to turn the prestige we had gained to good account in preaching the Gospel of peace. The missionary, Bible in hand, followed the outlaws to their homes and to their hiding places in the mountains, with many entreaties and prayers, and though nearly all kept their promises of good behavior, yet, as to spiritual results, it was like sowing seed upon the dry rock.

Now there were here in church the "unwashed" of all grades, twelve hundred to fifteen hundred of them. The better class were there too. The priests only were missing. This reform movement has left them far in the rear. The associations of the place and the strange surroundings, though almost bewildering, were peculiarly inspiring as I tried to point this multitude of sinners to Christ and bade them look and live. The opportunity of preaching in this church and to this audience was a rich reward for all the weary climbing in past years over the Zeitoun crags and rocks to sow the good seed.

A remarkable change has taken place in the town. Quarreling, drunkenness, and profanity have almost ceased, and the quiet of a New England town has come to Zeitoun on Sundays. Daily services were held in the mission church, and many sermons were preached in the open air, and not a few conversations had with outlaws by the road-side. The Armenians in Harpoot have opened a school near the mission college, and an order from the patriarch directs Armenians to patronize the school, and not to attend the Protestant schools. The latter have not, however, lost any scholars. The college has four hundred and fifty students. Mr. Robert Chambers, of Erzeroom, writing of a tour he recently made among the villages of the Passen and Alashgerd districts, says he found most cheering evidences in Karazabar, although there is no mission there, of the spread of evangelical doctrines. He writes:

We were invited to preach in the churches, and were received, not as strangers, but as brethren. The state of this whole plain is peculiar. Our books are read

everywhere and our principles accepted. Priests who defend all the rites of the old Church are laughed at and called dotards. The churches are empty. Nobody believes in the existing state of things in the Church, but nobody is ready to make a stand for reform. . . . In one village, where we remained two days, the priest and some of the leading people would not be separated from our company. They came early in the morning and stayed with us till late at night. The priest took his turn in reading and explaining the Scriptures, which, however, he never does in the church service. He got into discussion with the priest of a neighboring town, an old man. The old man defended pilgrimages, picture-worship, intercession of saints, etc., and was scandalized to hear the Protestant view from the young priest's lips. The old man returned to his town in great grief and related the affair sadly to the teachers of the Gregorian school. These laughed at him, and told him the young priest was right. But none of these people have any idea of becoming Protestant. The national spirit is too strong and the spiritual life too sluggish for that.

THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S ANNIVERSARY.—The anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society this year marked the close of the second jubilee of Wesleyan missions, and the report gives a review of the development since 1837, the end of the first fifty years, the year also of the coronation of the queen. The century of the Society closes with this record of the present strength of the Society's work: 1,959 circuits, 10,919 chapels and preaching places, 2,592 ministers and missionaries, and 430,247 members. At the close of 1836 there were 51 missionaries, 143 catechists and day-school teachers, 51 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 3,196 members. On the same field, together with others since occupied, there are now reported 324 missionaries, 1,825 catechists and day-school teachers, 3,651 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 31,268 members, with 4,097 on trial. This does not include Australia and some of the South Sea missions now under the care of the Australasian Missionary Society. The income last year was \$715,910, including \$39,610 collected by the ladies' auxiliary. The Society's debt is upward of \$53,000. One of the most interesting speeches delivered at the anniversary was by the Rev. G. McKenzie Cobban, of India. He said in the old days government officials and others were in the habit of denying that any Hindus had become Christians. But every body now knows that in the Madras Presidency alone there are a million native Christians. The critics admit it; but they say, "Your Christians are but the dust and rubbish of Hindu society." It is true that the majority are from the lower castes. The first missionaries offered the Gospel to the higher castes, but they would not accept it, so they turned to the degraded and oppressed, and they accepted Christ gladly. "Out of the so-called dust and rubbish of Hindu society—out from among those lowest classes, who have had their brains well-nigh trampled out of them by centuries of cruelty, who have had their hearts steeled against the classes above and around them—out of such materials as these God has raised up Christians who will bear comparison with ourselves." Mr. Cobban then went on to speak of the intelligence and character of Hindu Christians. He showed, by government authority and by statistics, the high estimate put upon Hindu Christians, as above Mussulman and Hindu, in intelligence.

"Out of every hundred Brahmans who appear for the B. A. degree there are thirty-five that pass, and out of every hundred Christians there are thirty-six." The Christians, originally from the lowest castes, now come from all castes, from the Chandalan to the Brahman. As to the character of native Christians Mr. Cobban said he inquired of the chief police commissioner of Madras who were the best and who were the worst people in Madras, a city of 400,000 inhabitants. He was told the best people were not the Hindus nor the Mussulmans, but the Christians. If all the people of that presidency were Christians there would be, according to government statistics, twelve thousand fewer criminals than now. Christians have there the respect of all classes, and are trusted where others are not trusted. Said Mr. Cobban:

These are simple facts, which should have their weight with sensible men. There are other points which illustrate what I have said. I find, for instance, that our native Christians are invited by Brahmans to join those political and other associations which are springing up all over our Madras Presidency. This shows that the most intelligent Hindus in the country feel that Christianity is a power which they are bound to respect, and whose friendship it may be well to court for the time to come. And our native Christians in India feel that they must not be second to any class of men in the community; that in every noble movement which has for its aim the uplifting of India, whether it be a social or educational movement, or even a political one, their place is at the very front; and I have no doubt but that they will take it in due time.

Speaking of what has been done for the relief of oppressed village tenants, he said:

In one village I had some ninety or ninety-five ready for baptism, but, as usual, the landowners, finding that the tenants were becoming Christians, threatened eviction and other kinds of distress. Many of them drew back in fear; twenty or twenty-five, however, remained firm. The landlords then came down upon the village belonging to the tenants, plowed every patch of ground, and covered it with huts, so that we might not put down a chapel or school. We had to appeal against this oppression. I thought that the matter must be fought out some day, and I had better fight it out once for all; so I wrote to the collector, the government official, a long account of the whole affair, stating how the ground and rights of the tenants had been interfered with. Those people suffered persecution which sorely tried them. At times the sweat was on their brows as they hesitated whether to go back or remain. But God has kept them firm, and now they are a strong and united Church in that little village. The caste villagers all over South India have generally regarded the land belonging to the non-caste villagers as their own; and if the non-caste tenant has troubled them they have driven him from his house and from his land a beggar. This has been their great privilege. Strictly speaking, they have no right to do this. According to government usage, the caste farmers have no right to persecute the lower caste who are their tenants. But such persecution is a relic of the old days of slavery, and it has been a hard matter to change such a state of things. But our Christians stood firm. The result was that the government issued a charter of rights protecting the lower castes, saying that the caste villagers henceforth could not interfere with the lower castes or their lands on any pretext whatever. That charter of rights, won by the patience of a few Methodists in a little village, is a charter for millions of people in India. Before one month had passed I heard in the collector's office that men in many villages, who had grown courageous, had challenged the justice of the castes in question, and of men above them, and had won their causes in the district courts.

CHURCH UNION IN JAPAN.—The Episcopalian missionaries in Japan, representing three distinct societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church—having formed a sort of union between themselves, sent a communication recently to the Synod of the United Church of Christ (Reformed and Presbyterian), and to the other Christian bodies in Japan, inclosing a series of resolutions passed at a conference of the three societies held in Osaka, Feb. 8, and inviting correspondence on the subject of union. The first resolution expresses the desire of the conference “for the establishment in Japan of a Christian Church which, by imposing no non-essential conditions of communion, shall include as many as possible of the Christians of this country.” The second resolution named a committee on the part of the conference, including the two bishops, to enter into communication with any committee authorized to act for other Christian bodies in Japan. The third resolution directed that the resolutions be communicated to the secretaries of the various Christian bodies in Japan. Bishop Bickersteth, chairman of the conference, sent the resolutions to Dr. William Imbrie, secretary of the Council of the Synod of the Church of Christ, with copies of two sermons of his own. Dr. Imbrie, in replying on behalf of the Council, called the attention of Bishop Bickersteth to the wording of the first resolution as admitting of two quite different interpretations, and asked whether the Synod was to understand that the Episcopal Conference desired to establish in Japan a Church which shall admit individuals to membership without requiring of them any thing beyond a credible profession of Christianity, or whether the end sought was the establishment of a single ecclesiastical organization, which shall include in its standards of doctrine and government nothing but what is essential to constitute a true Church of Christ. With the sentiment of the first interpretation, wrote Dr. Imbrie, the council is in hearty accord. The second interpretation commits nobody. It might be adopted by a college of cardinals. All turns upon the meaning attached to the word “essential.” Referring to Bishop Bickersteth’s sermons accompanying the resolutions, Dr. Imbrie finds that they treat as among “essentials” the episcopal form of government, the rite of confirmation, and the sacraments, and he asks whether the bishops and clergy of the Osaka Conference regard the episcopate as an “essential,” whether they acknowledge the Presbyterian Church as a true Church of Christ, and whether they recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and whether they would receive the sacrament at the hands of Presbyterian ministers. He reminds the Episcopal Committee that, while the Synod has appointed a committee of conference, there can be no meeting except upon terms of absolute ecclesiastical equality. The Episcopal Committee made reply as follows:

We desire to draw your attention to the fact that the resolution of our Osaka Conference refers to *Japan*; to the formation of a *Japanese* Church; that we are looking to the future and not to the past. Our expressed desire is the formation of a Church in this land which shall include the Japanese Christians connected

both with yourselves and ourselves. May we not hope that this may be accomplished if we can meet together with a readiness on both sides to seek this end?

We are not ignorant of the grave ecclesiastical and other difficulties involved, but we hope that, through the aid of God's Holy Spirit, we may in mutual conference discover some means of solving them, at least for this land.

The correspondence closes with a letter from Dr. Imbrie expressing regret that no answer has been returned to the inquiries raised by the Council's former communication. If the Episcopal Committee can accept the terms proposed by the Council, namely, treat the episcopate as non-essential, and recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination and organization, the committee of the United Church of Christ will be glad to meet them. This practically ends the effort at union in this direction.

Union, however, is making progress in other directions. A basis of union has been agreed upon between the Synod of the Church of Christ, which already unites three denominations, and the Congregational Churches. This basis, from which is to be elaborated an ecclesiastical system and doctrinal standards, according to the lines agreed upon, has been approved both by the Synod and Conference of Congregational Churches, and each body has appointed a committee to work out details of government and doctrine. When this work is completed it is to be submitted for ratification to the Congregational Churches and the Synod. If approved by both the union will be consummated. On the question of doctrine there was no great difficulty in agreeing upon the basis. The real difficulty came in settling upon the character of the polity for the united Church. There could hardly be much compromise; either the Congregational or Presbyterian system must be selected, and the agreement was upon the latter. The outline leaves individual churches free to manage their internal affairs, either directly or by a *shokukai* (session); it provides for three assemblies: District Conference or Presbytery, Great Conference or Synod, General Conference or Assembly. The District Conference, which is to consist of one pastor and one delegate from each church within its bounds, is to organize new churches, license, ordain, and discipline ministers, and decide appeals from a session or a church. Three or more District Conferences form a Great Conference, the members of which shall be the pastors and representatives of the churches. It is to have the direction of evangelistic work and decide appeals originating in the District Conference. The General Conference is to be composed of ministers and laymen from all the District Conferences, and is to decide constitutional questions and appeals originating in the Great Conference, and is to have the general care of interests common to the whole Church. There is not to be a system of appeals, but a single appeal only—from the session or church to the District Conference, from the District Conference to the Great Conference, from the Great Conference to the General Conference. Appeal in every case is allowed only to the next higher body, and must there stop. As to the standards, ministers are to be required to subscribe to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance, and to approve the Westminster and Heidelberg Catechisms

and Plymouth Declaration for substance of doctrine. The prospect of union on this basis appears to be good, and doubtless the Synod of the United Church of Christ will soon include also the Reformed (German) Church mission, and the mission of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

It is interesting to note that, according to the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the organization of the Episcopal Japanese Christians into a native Church was pressed by the natives themselves. The archbishop had counseled caution and delay in proceeding to organize a native Church. But the Japanese are so independent, and possess in so large a degree the gift of self-government, that "the missionaries found that it was impossible to continue the mission further unless they allowed the framing of constitutions and canons for the native Christians. A synod met," continues the archbishop, "consisting of native Christians on the one side, and on the other of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and of the American Church, who all work together with the greatest harmony. After two days of separate conference they met together and sat continually until they had removed from their plans every thing that was likely to be a bone of contention in the future, and safely provided that they would always be in communion with the English and American Churches; but they saw quite clearly that there were things in our formularies which had nothing to do with them, and that there were others which would have to be supplied to meet their own needs. So now there existed, on the other side of the world, what they called, not 'The Church of Japan,' for it was pointed out to them that the title might give offense to other Christian Churches working there, and also to the civil government; and so, with their wonted ingenuity, they did not call themselves 'The Church of Japan,' nor 'The Japanese Church,' but, according to the perfectly understood grammar of their own tongue, 'Japan Church.'"

THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS hopes to reach the million dollar line. The General Assembly recommended that this amount be raised this year, partly for the purpose of clearing away the debt of the Board and partly for the benefit of the missions, which have suffered somewhat the past two or three years for want of larger means. The Assembly took advanced ground in its deliverance on the subject of union presbyteries in foreign fields. This deliverance declares that in order to build up independent national Churches in foreign fields, holding to the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, the more complete identification of the missionaries of the Church with native ministers and churches is of vital importance, and needs to be pressed; that where union presbyteries can be formed the further organization of presbyteries in connection with the Assembly should be discouraged; that missionaries should become full members of union presbyteries so far as possible, and sever their connection with home presbyteries.

As a RESULT of the establishment of mission stations at Bandawe and Angoniland on or near Lake Nyassa great changes have been wrought in the life of the people. Thousands have gathered about the two stations, because of the safety assured them, and settled down to a quiet life. Formerly they were warriors, particularly the Angoni, and lived by plundering other tribes. They say the missionaries have made them cowards, for they dare not go out and plunder as they used to do. They have great respect for the missionaries, but they will not acknowledge God.

THE ENGLISH BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY has twenty-two missionaries on the Congo, and has not lost one the past year. Most of them write that they never had better health. The society has three stations on the Lower Congo, including San Salvador, and two on the Upper Congo. The Congo mission has a strong hold upon the Baptists of England. Responses to appeals for funds for it are always prompt and cordial, and the struggling and obscure give as freely and gladly as the more favored.

DR. J. W. LAMBUTH, of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Japan, writing of a remarkable awakening in Hiroshima, describes a very interesting scene in the mission church in that city at a meeting called for the benefit of the probationers, of whom there were forty-eight. After the opening exercises Dr. Lambuth proceeded to question each of the probationers as to their faith and what they were willing to do for the Master. The first man was a physician. "Dr. Sugiye, are you willing to give up your *saké* (wine) and observe the Sabbath?" He hesitated and said he had just begun to practice, and if he refused to take *saké* it would ruin his practice. "Well, that settles the question with you." "Mr. Mito, can you give up your *saké* and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Mito hung his head and made no reply. "Mr. Sunamoto, will you close up your shop and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Sunamoto said it would ruin his business to do that. "Mr. Ijinia, will you give up all and follow Christ?" Mr. Ijinia said he had determined so to do many days ago. After Dr. Lambuth had gone through the list in this way with some very hearty responses, a local preacher from Tokio prayed most fervently for the doctor and those who could not give up all for Christ. Dr. Sugiye then arose and said: "I have for a long while hesitated about this matter, but I am determined now to follow Christ even if I am poor. I am willing to give up my *saké*." Then the others got up one after another and solemnly renounced all for the Master.

THE ORGAN OF MORAVIAN MISSIONS, *Periodical Accounts*, has a review in a recent issue of the remarkable revival which began in the mission of the United Brethren on the Moskito Coast, Central America, in the year 1881. The mission was established chiefly among the Indians and Creoles in 1849, and at the close of 1880 it numbered about a thousand converts. No special effort preceded the awakening of 1881. The missionaries had faithfully proclaimed the Gospel as a remedy for sin in all the years of

their ministration on the coast, and every year they saw Indians and Creoles and Spaniards gladly accepting the good tidings. When the great revival began, it began in places where it was least expected and at a time when the most devoted and faithful missionaries were absent. It began in a deep consciousness of sin, which seemed to pervade all classes of the population. The cry of all was, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" Persons of all ages were prostrated with a feeling of utter unworthiness, little children fell on their knees in united prayer, and the most profligate and abandoned became sincere penitents. A dozen sorcerers, who had been the high-priests of heathenism, became meek and lowly followers of Christ. Those who had long been abject slaves of the drink habit became thoroughly reformed, with no further desire, so they testified, for the cup. "Companies of Indians, working in the forest at a great distance from the stations, were seized in their turn," and entreaties for forgiveness were heard from lips which had never been known to utter a word of prayer. As the Moravian missionaries passed from village to village, in response to calls from every direction, they found "that the finger of God had touched" places which had been lying in the shadow of death. It seemed to be God's revival, without the ordinary use of human agents. The revival proceeded amidst great excitement. The missionaries strongly disapproved of it, but they could not wholly control it. They had not sought to arouse it, they had not expected such a manifestation, and they were careful how they discouraged it. Tremblings, cold sweats, fits, and prostration, followed by great exultation, came upon the penitents. Some had dreams and visions which they regarded as revelations from God. Some excesses were committed, but in the main the converts became steady, sober Christians. The missionaries declined to baptize any convert whose sincerity was not thoroughly tested. The result of the awakening has been the adding of some fifteen hundred persons to the list of communicants, a great increase of zeal in Christian work, and the opening of new stations. Few have fallen away. The natives no longer say, as they used to, "God loves the white man, but not the Indian." He has given them, they say, a special manifestation of his love for them.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

RICHARD W. GILDER, in the July number of the *New Princeton Review*, discusses certain tendencies in current literature apropos of the desultory conflict waged in the literary field between "Realism and Idealism." Mr. Gilder has much sympathy with the realist, and especially with the American literary realist, because his voice is the voice of conviction, the note of the genuine, of the exact. A good bit of petulant wit is embodied in the sentence: "There are skeptics who would say that the present realism in fiction is, in France, a discovery of the unclean, and in America a discovery of the unimportant. The realistic method in fiction is averse to character, does not take kindly to the conventional hero and heroine, nor the elaborate plots, melodramatic situations, or romantic disguises." The author well defines the spirit of true realism in the words: "Let it be reality all the way through; reality of the spirit as well as of the flesh; not a groveling reality, not a reality microscopic or photographic, or self-conscious, or superficial; not a reality that sees ugliness but is blind to beauty; not a reality which sees the little, yet neither sees nor feels the great; not a reality which ignores those social phenomena, those actual experiences of the heart, those natural passions and delights which have created in man the romantic spirit; those experiences of the soul which have created in him the religious spirit, and which are facts of existence certainly no less important than any other." The sum of Mr. Gilder's paper is, that those who pursue both the real and the ideal methods are useful fellow-creatures, and it gives us a new illustration of the old proverb, "*In medio tutissimus ibis.*"

S. T. N. Benjamin in this number turns from his recent studies of Persia to note "American Art Since the Centennial," finding in the establishment of the museums in the great cities, in the change of our art students from Dusseldorf and Rome to Munich and Paris, in the growth of our monthly magazines, in the growing taste for etchings, proofs of great advance and a prophecy of the development of real American art.

S. H. Cobb discusses the theory of prohibition, taking the strong ground that as a remedy for the moral evil of intemperance prohibition is wanting in the first principles of true morality.

In the June number of the *North American* Dorman B. Eaton defends independent political action as a necessity for the purification of politics. A paper of popular interest is that made up from biographical notes by President Garfield on his experience as a lawyer. An article of much value to Christians is that by Dr. Mendes on "Why I am a Jew," which exhibits the ground of the tenacious hold which Judaism has upon its hearers in a very strong and intelligent way. The attention of political students is called by H. A. Gumbleton to the dangers of our lodging-house vote, which is becoming an increasing factor in the political life of New York.

The July number of this magazine has quite an attraction in the opening article by Henry George on "The New Party." It opens with the statement: "The era in American politics which began with the candidacy of Fremont closed with the defeat of Blaine. The Republican Party died at heart some time ago, with the second administration of Grant, or at least with the early part of the administration of Hayes. The growth of the Prohibition Party on the one side and the Labor Party on the other, and the readiness with which Republicans and Democrats have united in some of the recent municipal elections when threatened with what seemed to them a common danger, show how rapidly the process of disintegration is taking place." Mr. George accounts the prohibition movement a natural effort to bring into politics, in the absence of larger questions, a social matter, but holds that the rise of the Labor Party takes hold of these questions lower down. Mr. George is quite intoxicated by the success of the Anti-Poverty Society's Sunday meetings in New York, forgetting that new movements have always been able to command, when made sufficiently popular by eccentric facts or advertising, similar attention in our large cities.

O. B. Frothingham furnishes the religious article, if it can be so called, entitled, "Why am I a Free-Religionist?" After reading the article, we are unable to see why, unless it be a certain mental twist which compels Mr. Frothingham, wherever he is, to fight alone. Dion Boucicault writes on the "Rise and Fall of the Press," apropos of stage critics, we suppose.

The most noticeable article in the June *New Englander and Yale Review* is by Frederick Alvord on the question, "The Bible: Shall we Take It as we Like It, or as we Find It?" The paper is a strong attack upon the new theological idea that the Christian consciousness is a tribunal before which to summon the Bible for trial. A strong point is made against it in the statement that the lack of uniformity in the deliverances of the Christian consciousness is fatal to the jurisdiction of consciousness in an inquiry of this kind. Dr. Newman Smyth fares not over-well in this paper in respect of the conclusions which he draws in his little work on the *Morality of the Old Testament*. Much praise is given by John Dewey to Professor Ladd's paper upon "Ethics and Physical Science," showing close discrimination between the moral law of the Spirit and the physical morality which has proved so attractive to many, and which, in the judgment of some, affords strong aid to biblical teaching. He declares that "we cannot admit the claims of physical science to be the founder of the ethical system of the coming man. We have to deny it because ethics deals with an end, and there is no place for an end in nature, as confined to space and time; and because, even if there were an end in the universe, this would not of itself constitute an ideal for human conduct; and because science is utterly unable to establish the essential feature of the ethical ideal—its insistence upon the identity of humanity in their relation to it. It is evident that the professor strongly holds that it is impossible

for physical science to formulate a constructive ethics, because the world of physical science gives no ground for morals—no place where the moral life may so much as set its foot. There is a very well-drawn Socratic dialogue by President Hyde in review of Dr. Harris's "Self-revelation of God." The old question of religion in the public schools is freshly discussed by Principal J. C. Greenough. The principal seems to be strongly in favor of teaching religion in the public schools, declaring that our public schools are the offspring of Christianity, and that the schools of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, are the offspring of Christianity; and he believes that as sectarian bitteresses are melting away there will be less difficulty in determining what amount of religious truth shall be taught.

The article in this number and in the July number on Christian work in London, both by the Church of England and the Dissenting Churches, reveals a degree of activity and diligence in discovering methods which is very inspiring to workers in America. It is plain that the Established Church is waking up to the advantages of its position, and no longer deserves the criticisms which have been visited upon it as a dead Church. Possessed of the old foundations, having a legal status, and an historical and social influence of amazing force, the English Church seems disposed to compete with the Dissenters for the popular ear; and as the spectacle of a surpliced clergyman holding out-door meetings and addressing himself to the outcast population is more novel in the Church of England than among the Dissenters, it has happened in several cases that larger and more visible results have occurred from their ministry than from the diligent toil of the Wesleyans and the dissenting bodies. We commend these two papers very strongly to all pastors in large cities.

Much space is taken up in the July number with the Andover controversy, which is becoming more and more a purely denominational matter. Thomas R. Bacon, now filling his dead brother's place in California, reviews, in the July number, Mr. Brooks Adams's *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*. Mr. Bacon shows a great deal of the paternal vigor in this critique. Rikaizo Nakasima, a Japanese student of New Haven, has a singularly good paper on the "Via Media in Ethics." This was an essay presented at the anniversary exercises of Yale Theological Seminary, and would do credit to the scion of any one of New England's academic families.

The Reminiscences of his European tour by O. W. Holmes are continued in the July and August numbers of the *Atlantic*, and are altogether the most interesting papers recently given to the public through that medium. Many men might have revisited England after fifty years and have been incapable of observing with the eye of a poet and of a scientific man. The humor which has always been so delightful an element in Dr. Holmes's genius shows no decay in his advancing years. Perhaps his longest stay outside of London was in Salisbury Close, and his reminis-

cences of that most graceful of English cathedrals form a delightful element in his hundred days in Europe.

In the August number he tells us of his experience of London life, and has some sharp criticisms of English snobbery, though he admits that exclusiveness has its conveniences. Students of philosophy will be interested in the article by George Frederick Parsons on the "Growth of Materialism." It is a strong indictment of mammon-worship, but its general tone is not very cheerful. He holds strongly that progress of a genuine character upon purely material principles is inconceivable. The spiritual is as necessary as the material, and progress is artificial and unsound in proportion as the only recognition received by the spiritual is an outward one. With many others he looks upon the devotion to material prosperity in our American life as certain to bring about all the dangers which have marked similar conditions in the history of other nations.

The *Unitarian Review* for June gives the first place to a semi-sermon by Dr. John W. Chadwick on the "Revelation of God." We have seen no article which more strikingly manifests the impossibility of any belief when the foundations of Christianity are themselves sapped. Some one who writes under the pseudonym "Conrad Mascot," in treating of St. Paul's doctrine of the risen Christ, attempts to show the influence of the great vision of Paul on the road to Damascus upon his whole life and writing. The peculiarity of his conclusion is to be seen in the sentence: "The doctrine of the pre-mundane embodied Christ finds no stable support in any certainly Pauline Scripture. The dogma that Christ is the second man is Pauline; that of his pre-mundane glory is Johannine."

We have formerly referred to the remarkably high character, from a literary and historical point of view, of the *Magazine of American History*, conducted by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The July number has an excellent engraving of the portrait by Copley of Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, and a sketch of his experiences in the London Tower, with several reproductions of old and very valuable portraits. To those who are fond of historical reading this magazine offers more in a year than any other publication of American inspiration with which we are acquainted.

In the lengthening season in which Mr. Gladstone leads her majesty's opposition, he holds to his early studies in Greek criticism and mythology, and appears in the June number of the *Contemporary Review* as a student of the great Olympian Sedition, a study of the rebellion against Zeus. R. W. Dale, the well known Congregational clergyman and *littérateur*, writes in a very kindly spirit of the relations of the Liberal Party and Home Rule, and seems to indicate that the differences in the Liberal Party are not so formidable as to justify despair of their being united in some plan which will relieve the legislative pressure with regard to Ire-

land. Frances Power Cobb writes in her strong and skeptical way of "Faith-Healing and Fear-Killing;" yet her skepticism does not prevent her admitting that there is really such a thing as faith-healing, holding, however, that three fourths, and probably nineteen twentieths, of the stories of cures of the religious class are undoubtedly myths, frauds, exaggerations, fallacies of memory or of reporting; and quite as many of the medical kind, she adds, may be divided between silly self-deceptions and the arrant falsehoods of interested quacks. She makes a very strong point when she says: "If, faith and piety and hope so elevate and stimulate the soul as to enable it to dispel disease, then, beyond a doubt, mistrust and pessimism and fear must correspondingly depress the soul, and leave Lucifer master of the situation." She condemns this age as haggard by anxiety. Andrew Lang has a bright paper upon "Literary Plagiarism," coming no nearer a definition of it, as we can see, than many who have written before him. Speaking of his own experience, he says that when he was a freshman he wrote a most unjustly successful Newdigate prize poem, in which he thought there was a good line. Somebody's hands were said to be

"Made of a red rose, swooning into white;"

but he afterward found in Chastelard somebody's hand "made of a red rose that has turned to white." Here was a direct though unintentional robbery. He holds that the plagiarist appears to be a decidedly rare criminal, whereas charges of plagiarism have always been as common as blackberries.

We are very glad to see in the June number of the *Church Review* an article on the Beneficiary Education for the ministry, by the Rev. Frederick W. Harriman, M.A. The paper is strongly in favor of such education, on the ground that the Church must be as wise as the State, which educates its own officers, and declares that underlying all the reasoning against the societies for the help of students is the silent, unconfessed, half-conscious prejudice against poverty. It is evident that those who desire to abandon the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church are not to have it all their own way in the public prints, for in this number the Hon. Hugh W. Sheffey declaims strongly against the change, and attacks Mr. Prince, chief apostle, with great vigor. He admits the possibility of conciliating some Romanists, or Rome-bound Churchmen, by striking out the word Protestant, but he believes its effect will be disastrous in alienating the sympathies of sincere and out-spoken Protestants, and the door of fellowship and organic union with them will be closed and barred forever.

In literary interest *Scribner's Monthly* is the equal of its predecessors—*Harper's* and *The Century*—and in respect of illustration is rapidly approaching, within its own scope, the great merit of those periodicals. Two more interesting papers have never appeared in any magazine than those by John C. Ropes in the June and July numbers on "Some Illustra-

tions of Napoleon and his Times," while the "Unpublished Letters of Thackeray," which have been printed in the last four numbers, form a literary find of the highest value.

The July number of *Harper's* opens with a very noteworthy article on "A Printed Book," under the general head, "Great American Industries," in which the process of book-making is followed from the setting of the type to the marbling and binding, with illustrations of every process. A glimpse into a life not generally known is given in the well illustrated paper, "Cadet Life at West Point." Charles Dudley Warner's series on "Here and There in the South" is not up in interest to the level of "Their Pilgrimage," except in the matter of illustration. More than a glimpse of African life is given in the richly illustrated article on a central Soudan town. Richard T. Ely, who may be said to be rapidly becoming the leading American writer on social questions, studies in this number "The Future of Corporations," and believes, as do all who think upon the subject, that corporations will be brought into greater subordination to public interest, and that all charters for performing the functions of a natural monopoly will be limited to a brief period, with a reversion of the entire property to municipal, state, or federal government, either without compensation or with compensation at an appraised valuation for actual outlays.

The *Forum* for July has perhaps the most important critique on Mr. George's theories about land which has appeared in any periodical. It is from the pen of Professor W. T. Harris, and shows that Mr. George's project would not enrich at all the laboring-men. Newman Smyth, in retaliation or in reply to the article by Professor Patton, "Is Andover Romanizing?" asks in this number, "Is Princeton Humanizing?" and, as it seems to us, with a sharper satirical blade. Park Benjamin, in considering the infliction of the death penalty, advocates the use of electricity instead of the rope. But about the most interesting, because the most painful, paper in the number is that by the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington on "Tenement House Morality," which shows how impossible it is for the ideal of decent family life, and, therefore, of Christian order, to be realized within the precincts of a tenement house.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN, in John Morley's *English Men of Letters*. 12mo, pp. 230. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Next to the wonderful boy Chatterton, Keats died the youngest of all the long list of famous poets England has produced, and one of the most lamented. Of humbly respectable birth, orphaned in early youth, with a fair preparatory and medical education, handsome, brilliant, sensitive, pugnacious, yet laughing, laughable, and lovable, Keats was launched upon the world with sufficient inherited income to keep him from poverty, but not enough for independence. There was no recognizable heredity of genius from his ancestry on either side; but his temperament and type of mind, though not manifest in his immediate ancestors, belonged distinctively to his race. The Keats family came from the Cornish coast, where the name, though never eminent, is ancient; and Wales seems to be the original home of the Jennings stock—his mother's line—though it has spread widely. Thus his ancestry was from Celtic roots on both sides, and never was Homer a truer embodiment of the Greek genius, nor Milton of the English, than was Keats of the genius of the Keltic race—the expiring Cornish blood from his father, the ardent, picturesque, and sensuous Kymric-Briton spirit from his mother. Put these elements together into the immature, seven-months first child of a gay, dancing, and consumptive mother, and give him a glimpse of classics and mythology in his education, and then kill him off with an uninspiring, unennobling, yet consuming love, and with consumption, at the early age of twenty-four, and we have all the potential elements for the genesis of Keats, and elements which Mr. Colvin should have brought together into crystallization, as a philosophy and psychology of Keats, but has hardly done so. From this base the very essence of Keats's genius was distilled. The immortal opening sentence of his *Endymion* crystallizes his whole philosophy of poetry:

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever:
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness," etc.

Over and over, in both his poems and his letters, Keats proclaimed it the mission of the poet—and so of himself—to be the seer and revealer of beauty to man, and that not, in his ideal, the highest beauty, the beauty of pure, intellectual truth and moral perfection, nor yet the beauty of the affections glorified by communion with the supernatural and infinite, but the sensuous, Celtic conception of beauty, the beauty of the physical man, of physical nature, the physical universe. It is of the very essence of this concept of the beautiful that it is impatient of moral ideals and purposes. It is the outcrop of the ancient nature-worshipping Keltic genius, as shown from all the past in the Gaul, the Briton, the Kymri,

the Gael, all saturated with the spirit of that anti-Semitic, anti-Teutonic, earth-and-sense instinct, and æsthetics which are latent in a strain of human blood which has given to the world fighting clans and song-singing bards, battle-painting, ditties and dancing, but to which—in profound unlikeness to the Hebrew and the Germanic races—ethics is constitutionally abominable. Of that deep, and wide-spread, and ancient Keltic root Keats is, for the English-speaking peoples, the final and consummate flower—or, rather, a flower that promised to be consummate could it have matured to perfection. Great poetry can only be read with a large and deep intelligence by the aid of history, ethnology, and religion, as well as that of native sympathetic imagination and cultured taste. The poetry of a nation is the blossoming forth of its inmost life, and not merely of the life of the individual poet. Mr. Colvin would have grasped the ethereal and elusive genius of Keats better had he first used this wider net to catch him in. He has given us a thorough and elaborate biography of the person of Keats, and full sketches of the incidental origin, development, and publication of his poems. He has, indeed, overwrought, as we think, his research among the older and the contemporary English poets for the germs and models of Keats's imitation—as though two poets, like two wild-wood birds, could not warble similar strains without being imitators of each other! All this historical part of Mr. Colvin's Keats is well done, though the style is never vivacious, and some sentences are structurally obscure, and must be read twice to get their meaning. The only real failure of the book is in the last chapter, on the "Character and Genius" of Keats. The character is well sketched, and the reader gets a clear mental image of that. Of the genius he gets none at all, only a nebulous shape—

"If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb."

But if Mr. Colvin fails in his attempt to grasp the genius of Keats as an abstract whole, he does not fail to show good analyses of its working in his sketches of the several leading poems as they come along. In fact, these analyses are excellent—the best parts of the book.

It is not easy to form a clear and just conception, as a whole, of a genius so airy, and so early blighted, as that of Keats. The profound and luxurious sensuous beauty and express antipathy to all ethical purpose which pervades all his work, makes it, to a great degree, alien to the deeply ethical and Christian Anglo-Saxon mind; and these traits seem almost to justify the application to his whole work of Wordsworth's curt remark concerning his hymn to Pan, in the first book of *Endymion*: "A pretty piece of paganism!" What would he have said of the "roundelay" on the triumphal progress of young Bacchus through the Oriental world, in the fourth book? But even here, in this unethical and even anti-ethical spirit of Keats's work, is one of the proofs of his power. The dominant spirit in the momentarily fashionable poetry of to-day is this same unethical and anti-ethical spirit—a semi-pagan spirit, the sensuous and

untheistic spirit of Keats, though with scarce a tithe of his æsthetic and imaginative power. But it is characteristic of all imitators to copy the copyable—that is, the lowest and weakest features of an original, and never has this principle been more forcibly illustrated than by the thin and sloppy modern Keatsism.

But let the imitators of Keats bear in mind the last and highest stage of his moral growth, which Mr. Colvin seems but poorly qualified to understand or interpret. During the last and ever-wonderful two years' development of his ripening genius Keats began to be profoundly cloyed with his own engorgement of sensuous beauty, and to see and often vaguely utter glimpses of the vast ethical mission of art and genius—glimpses that foreshadowed a coming fundamental revolution in his philosophy of poetry. It was a late moral development, characteristic of the moral infancy of his race-stock. But had he lived to ripe maturity, he seems likely to have developed an ethical purpose in his work as profound as that of Milton and Spenser, his chief masters, or that of Tennyson, whose youthful work shows so plainly the tutelage of Keats. As it was, he only lived to give those fragmentary premonitions of the coming revolution of his moral and spiritual being which appear in his letters and in some brief poetical passages, and to prove its present reality by making Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* almost the one book of his last months and days before death. Would that our modern Keatses and Keatsism might realize the same ennobling *evolution* from an infantile and semi-pagan anti-ethicism to the ethical manhood of Christianity and moral obligation!

But, studied apart from the ethical want and hunger of man's moral nature—if it is possible to so study any serious literary creation—Keats, with all his early crudities, is the most gifted seer and prophet of natural beauty in English, perhaps in all, literature. Next to the two volume work of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, revised edition 1867, and the Aldine *Keats's Works*, edited by the same gifted author, 1876, Mr. Colvin has no doubt given us here the best view of Keats that we have, and one indispensable to a mastery of its theme. The Appendix is useful. The Harpers' part of the work, as publishers, needs no praise.

The Captain of the Janizaries. A Story of the Times of Scanderbeg and the Fall of Constantinople. By JAMES M. LUDLOW. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1887.

Whatever pertains to the "Eastern Question" is "live" matter. This work is an historical romance, of the same general class with those of Jane Porter (*Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *Scottish Chiefs*) and Walter Scott (*Ivanhoe*, etc.), but it is more strictly historical than these, and shedding light upon the liveliest question of Europe to-day.

It is not often that a reviewer has time to read through a work of fiction, but we have read every page of this book, and some of it twice. It is, however, very near to a mistake to call such a work "fiction." The great

historical events and characters with which the book deals are too well known, and have been and still are too potential in shaping the world, to be regarded in a fictitious light. The period is the early and middle part of that fifteenth century which closed with the discovery of America. The scene is the wizard realm of all Europe, its south-eastern frontier, where the Old World joins the New, and all lights and shadows blend and dance together. Next in importance to the gift of a new continent to Europe was the loss of what stood for the "Old World," in the fall of Constantinople before the conquering Ottoman Turks, in A. D. 1453. That was the death of antiquity, an event which shook Europe and civilization. It was not, however, the beginning of the Turks' onset on Europe, but far from it. The Turk had conquered almost all south-eastern Europe already. His capital had been at Adrianople eighty-seven years, and the Greek empire, reduced to only Constantinople and its suburbs, was merely an island of Christianity in an ocean of Mohammedan barbarism that rolled from India to Vienna, until at last the surge swept over the island too, and from the Danube to the Ganges all was Islam. Amid the swirl of this inundation lies the story of weird little Albania, standing on her mountains like their crags themselves, and dashing back the ever-rising tide of Moslem invasion for a generation. Even in the soberest history it is a marvelous tale. George Castriot, an hereditary prince of Albania, as a boy, is a hostage at the Turkish court at Adrianople. In violation of hostage law he is made a captive, forced into the corps of the Janizaries (all captive Christian youth), and trained in Mohammedanism, and in all the art of war as practiced by that renowned body that stands in history with the Roman Praetorian Guards, the Egyptian Mamelukes (who were Circassians), and the Russian Strelitzes (shooters), as the four great autonymous military organizations that have ruled great empires. Of this famous ten thousand Castriot becomes the most famous personal soldier, the most sagacious and invincible commander, it ever had; and he is justly ranked by Sir William Temple as one of the seven greatest uncrowned men of history. From his height, as the hero and pillar of the Ottoman empire, the conqueror of every great warrior of his age, recognized even by the Hungarian, John Hunniades, as his master and the peerless soldier of the world, the Albanian patriot and the childhood Christian overmaster the Janizary and the Moslem in him. Then he obeys the call of Albania, quits his last battle-field for the Turk, and flies to his Albanian mountains, there to rule his native rocks, and like them to dash back the myriad hordes of the Moslem, though Constantinople falls and the crescent and scimeter flash to the center of Europe. The Lord Alexander (Iskander-beg, or bey), the name given him by the admiring sultan, is to the Turk, to this day, "a name to conjure with;" the most marvelous name for valor, military genius, and soldierly honor known in Turkish story, despite his treason, as they viewed it. He defeated the Turks in twenty-two pitched battles, always against superior numbers, often four to one, and was never beaten in battle except by his own planning in his last fight for the Turks—that with

Hunniades, the Christian hero, the "White Knight of Wallachia;" and then only in order to cripple the Turks sufficiently to aid his own escape to Albania. But even in this defeat he out-generaled Hunniades. The check which he gave to Moslem conquest made Europe his debtor forever, and anticipated by more than two centuries the final defeat of the crescent under the walls of Vienna by that second Charles Martel, John Sobieski, the "Wizard King of Poland."

As might be inferred from Dr. Ludlow's *Historical Charts*, the historical material of the book is rich, and we may also safely say that the artistic structure of the tale, in plot, narration, character-work, and local coloring, all unite to make it a masterpiece. The two Servian peasant brothers, duplicates of each other, one of whom, captured by the Turks in boyhood, becomes Scanderbeg's able successor as captain of the Janizaries, the other in free Albania, the right arm of the patriot Castriot (whose mother was a Servian princess), and finally marries the Albanian princess, the heroine, the daughter of Castriot's boyish sweetheart, are admirably drawn; and the adventures growing out of their resemblance, while each supposes the other dead, are almost miraculous, but always probable, and always such as to help the right and help each other.

The heroine herself, disciplined in countless adventures, from a shepherd's hut to the Ottoman court, is a noble and glorious model of womanhood, such as no man can study without a higher reverence for womankind.

Here and there in the work the historian gets the better of the artist, but only to condense the story when too long to be told by the actors. We predict that this book will run a good race with *Ben-Hur*. It will interest and instruct mature minds, and furnish an excellent historical and moral lesson for every youth in the land.

Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt. Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By Rev. ALFRED H. KELLOGG, D.D., of Philadelphia; member of "Victoria Institute," etc. 8vo, pp. 160. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Egyptology has scarcely attained to the status of a science, though some good progress has been made toward determining certain data from which such a science may be constructed. From the earliest to the latest times the biblical records are more or less entangled with Egyptian affairs, and especially the careers of the three hero-patriarchs named in the above title have large Egyptian relations, and through them the histories of both nationalities are illustrated. In these lectures Dr. Kellogg endeavors, with a good degree of success, to trace out the connections of the Hebrews with the Egyptians; but after his large expenditure of learned labors the amount of positive knowledge attained is not large. Two points, however, are made pretty certain—first, that there is enough in the subject to justify the now prevalent study of the topic, and second, that the boasted chronology of Egypt, going back through tens of thousands of years before the earliest biblical dates, is wholly untrustworthy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Outlines of International Law. With an Account of its Origin and Sources, and of its Historical Development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 449. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The subject discussed in this volume is one of great dignity, in which every citizen is concerned, and the proper understanding of which is an essential part of a liberal education; its elucidation has also engaged the learning and genius of the present and of former times. The purpose of this work is not to discuss anew the several subjects treated of, but rather to set in order for the benefit of beginners the chief facts and principles upon which International Law is based, and according to which its superstructure is built up. It is intended to serve as a text-book for schools, or as an elementary treatise for private reading, rather than a comprehensive system or book of general reference; and for the purpose so intended the work is well adapted—better, indeed, than some larger and more elaborate works. The style is plain and pure English, clear rather than elegant, and sufficiently forceful to awaken and command attention. As a book for the advanced classes in schools and colleges it deserves to be favorably considered. In our professorial days we sought in vain for such a text-book.

Things Seen (Choses Vues). By VICTOR HUGO, Author of *Toilers of the Sea*, *History of a Crime*, etc. With a portrait. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is interesting as embodying the author's impressions of certain persons and events from the year 1838 to the year 1875. It is far too fragmentary to be called an autobiography; it is rather a series of word-pictures, brilliant and often revealing a deep insight of human character and historical incidents. Here and there are masterly touches of that genius which has raised its author to such eminence among the writers of this century; but as a whole it is a little disappointing when compared with his other works. From a man so great, when speaking of well-nigh forty years of his life, we expected more, while allowing for all that he has done—his splendid literary achievements.

DEATH OF DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.

THE Publishers of this Review are deeply grieved at the necessity of informing its readers that the Rev. Dr. DANIEL CURRY, its able and scholarly editor, is no longer an inhabitant of earth. He died at his home in this city, after a brief but severe illness, on Wednesday, August 17, in the 78th year of his age.

